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## I.—STAHL'S SYNTAX OF THE GREEK VERB.

### THIRD ARTICLE.

Moods and Tenses is the natural sequence in English. It is the sequence in Goodwin, the sequence in my Problems of Greek Syntax. But, of course, it is hard to separate them in detailed treatment. Moods are temporal and Tenses are modal (A. J. P. XXIII 127); and in my Greek Syntax I have followed the order Tenses and Moods as Aken has done in his Tempora und Modi, as Stahl has done in the Syntax of the Greek Verb, which I take up again for others. For myself as for all special students of the subject the book is an *ineluctabile fatum* and will hold me in its grip to the end.

Stahl begins, as we all begin, with Apollonios and finds himself forced to admit that the old grammarian's *ψυχικὴ διάθεσις* (A. J. P. XXIII 126) is based on a correct view of the nature of the moods. Yet he contends that it cannot be called a definition because it does not give the *differentia specifica*, which means so much more to a German than 'specific difference' does to us, at least to judge by the way in which Stahl plays with German and Latin synonyms (A. J. P. XXIX 264). The Greek word for mood is *ἔγκλισις*—a poor word as it would seem, because it is also used for *accentus inclinatio*. But after all, 'tone' of utterance is not so bad a description of mood (S. C. G. 183). It seems a pity that *διάθεσις* has been appropriated for 'voice'—but Stahl cites Schol. Theod. II 5, 6 (=Gr. Gr. IV 2, p. 5, l. 2), which makes *ἔγκλισις* equivalent to *διάθεσις*: *καθ' ὃ ἐγκλίνεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἡγουν εἰς ὃ ῥίπτει ἡ ψυχὴ*—a figure taken from scales and weights. How sad to find the sacrosanct realm of syntax invaded by a

naughty trope (A. J. P. XXIX 239) and a trope that has evidently been imported into the word, which means nothing more than *κλίσσις* does in the noun.

Stahl now attacks the problem of the meaning of the several moods, the problem of the possibility of reaching a basic signification for the same. 'Basic significations' are not in good odor just now. 'Sphere of usage' is safer or 'types of application' (A. J. P. II 84). Indicative and Imperative he dismisses as too clear for discussion and spends all his energies on Subjunctive and Optative. 'The basic signification', says Stahl, 'must be sought in the simple sentences and in the oldest documents'. Then follows a long argument to prove that language began with simple sentences and that parataxis is earlier than hypotaxis. <Unfortunately, hypotaxis came in before our record. Simple sentences are not necessarily easier than compound, and in this whole discussion I am often reminded of the silliness of Swiss Family Robinsons in words of one syllable, as if one syllable were necessarily easier than two. But the great trouble is with the oldest documents and now classical scholars are asking one another 'with a wild surmise' whether the underground stream of language which has come to light of late may not be of more value than the oldest documents. The appeal is to Homer, as Paul's was to Caesar; but alas! for Paul's pseudo-poet on the throne and our real poet on the throne. The Homeric evidence must be accepted with great caution, as has been repeatedly urged, e. g., A. J. P. XXIV 353. The simplicity may be an artificial simplicity. The predominance of parataxis over hypotaxis is a matter of style as well as of period. Hypotaxis holds fast to constructions that parataxis has abandoned. The futural subjunctive abides defiantly in the dependent clause of temporal sentences and dares the future indicative to invade its domain. The modal nature of the future, obscured in the principal sentence, forces itself upon the most superficial observer in the dependent clause. A rude inscription of a late date may be more instructive than the artistic language of the epic (A. J. P. XXIII 253 foll.). That means, of course, that we have to restudy all our problems. But that necessity is one of the conditions of a progressive science like Syntax.>

It is an old story—we have many twice-told tales in Stahl—this advance from the simple structure of the sentence in Homer to the elaborate periods of Isokrates, from the *λίγαις εἰρομένη* to the

λέξις κατεστραμμένη, both terms that, by the way, seem to have come from the Ionic home of the Epos. <But there are long sentences, balanced sentences in Homer, who does not hesitate to transcend the limit of the period as laid down by the rhetoricians. It is not a matter of advance in art merely; it is a matter of sphere.> This familiar theme of the growth of the hypotactic sentence Stahl proceeds to illustrate by the hypothetical sentence and by the relative sentence, both illustrations based on disputed assumptions. To him *εἰ* is 'da', 'so' (cf. L. G.<sup>3</sup> 590, N. 1), and the relative is originally an anaphoric demonstrative (A. J. P. XXIX 259). This leads him to discuss *ὅς τε*, in the *τε* of which he sees a copulative conjunction and not he alone. Those who, like Stahl, translate *ὅς τε* 'and he', are fooled by their own translation. 'He also' would probably be nearer the mark. Only the German 'also' and the English 'also' differ portentously, a significant lesson in semantics. Whatever the first meaning of *τε*, the doubling of it, *τε . . . τε*, which is the original use (according to Delbrück, S. F. IV 145), produces the effect of correlation, as much so as if *τε—τε* were *ὡς—οὕτως* (A. J. P. XXIII 256). *τε—καί* follows suit with the effect of *ὡς—οὕτω καί*. The business style of the ISS is averse to *τε—καί* and the less processional orators do not affect it, as Fuhr taught us a generation ago, just as they do not overdo *οὕτως—ὥστε*, of which Isokrates is so fond (A. J. P. XIV 241). Isokrates had time enough or took time enough for this artistic parade. This correlation helps to explain the connotation 'so' (Monro, H. G. § 331 n.), and 'who-so' readily becomes 'whoso', readily becomes generic, like *ὅστις* which was originally not the generic but the characteristic relative. Monro considers *ὅς τε* generic,<sup>1</sup> H. G., § 266, and the fact that *ὅστις* kills *ὅς τε* is not without meaning. The crowding out of *ὡς* by *ὡς τε* in the consecutive sentence can not be explained on the 'copulative conjunction' theory nor the curious difference between *οἷός* and *οἷός τε*, *οἷός* giving the character (disposition), *οἷός τε* the situation (position). See A. J. P. VII 165. The distinction, as I have put it, has been widely accepted. Stahl says that *οἷός* is 'Beschaffenheit', *οἷός τε* 'Vermögen' (p. 496), though he grants that the especial sense 'imstande sein' is prevalently expressed by *οἷός τε*. <An impertinent fellow is represented in Plato's Republic 329 C as asking Sophokles some home questions as to

<sup>1</sup> "Ὅς τε", he says, 'lays stress on the general permanent element in facts.'

his standing in the Court of Love. The first question pertains to his state of mind, *πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς τὰ φροδίσια*; Comp. Conv. 176 C: *ἐπειδὴ οὐν μοι δοκεῖ οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων προθύμως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ πολὺν πίνειν οἶνον*. The state of mind (*οἶος*) is, of course, not unconnected with the state of body (*οἴός τε*), and that leads to the next question: *ἔτι οἴός τε εἰ γυναικὶ συγγίγνεσθαι*; To this second question by a natural chiasmus Sophokles replies first with the usual formula in case of indecency *εὐφήμει* and proceeds to answer the other with more or less sincerity: *ἀσμενίστατα μέντοι αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον* (*αὐτό* being = the d—d thing, A. J. P. XXVI 237). Cicero's translation (Cato Maior 47), which has helped to make the passage famous, is a poor and coarse affair. Quite apart from Cicero's lack of appreciation of the delicacies of Greek syntax—a matter that has been made evident, if that were needful, by special studies—it will be remembered that his recent experience with Publilia may not have been the most pleasant. The alliance was scarce contracted when it was dissolved.>

Stahl's method with the moods is this. Find the fixed usages that need no adminicles and separate them from the shifting usages, from the usages that are accompanied by a distinguishing tag. The fixed usages are those that are to be relied on as the original usages. The others are derivative. <But what are we to do in Latin? To me *velim* is *βουλοίμην ἄν*, to Professor Morris it is *βουλοίμην* (A. J. P. XVIII 139, XIX 231). Then something is to be said in favor of the clarification of language, of the survival of the essential. What does prose usage tell us? The pure subjunctive is an imperative everywhere. The tag *ἄν* turns the subjunctive into a more exact future, a future of assumption, which is limited to the dependent sentence. The optative is everywhere the mood of the wish, the dream, the fancy. *ἄν* turns it into a more exact future, a future of assertion, which is practically limited to the principal sentence. This is the sum of the whole matter, the result which Stahl reaches after pages and pages of disquisition. But it has the disadvantage of being crystalline and we must go back to the turbid genesis.>

The Homeric subjunctive appears in declarative sentences as well as in sentences of will, a subdivision of sentences of desire ('Begehren', *ἔμερος*). In declarative sentences it is used for the future. In sentences of 'desire', apart from prohibitive sentences and sentences of apprehension, the usage is confined to the first person both in the affirmative sentence and in the question.



In the former we have to do with the will of the subject, in the latter there is an appeal to the will of another. So we have (1) the voluntative (volitive) subjunctive which is limited to the first person and sways level with the positive imperative, in short, our old friend the 'geheischte Wirklichkeit' of Krüger, and (2) the futural subjunctive <also known as the prospective subjunctive> really a tense. In the deliberative question 'was will ich tun?' becomes 'was soll ich tun?' The English equivalents 'what will I do?—what shall I do?' may be paralleled in the English of Shakespeare's time and in the dialects (Scotch, Irish); but I dare not use the illustration for fear of being classed with those benighted people who, as Whitney says somewhere, confound their inclinations with their obligations—an epigrammatic remark intended for the southern tier of the United States, but linguistically applicable to a far wider range and ethically to everybody. The dubitative (deliberative) subjunctive needs no illustration. About some of the examples of the futural subjunctive one might quarrel. Indeed, it might be maintained that the parallel with the future is not conclusive as to the purely futural character. There is so to speak a *dei* shade about *τί πᾶθω* (S. C. G. 384); which *τί πείσομαι*; lacks. Nor does Stahl note the prevalence of the aorist tense which shows in my judgment a certain striving after a *futurum exactum*, in spite of recent theories, which minimize the aoristic character of the second aorist (A. J. P. XXIX 245). On its way to the *futurum exactum* the aor. subj. was checked by the development of the opt. and *ᾶν* which crowded the subj. out of the principal sentence so that it had to be content with the domain of the subordinate clause, where it holds a court of its own as we have seen (A. J. P. XXIX 267).

But this use of the futural subjunctive in Homer, says Stahl, is not confined to the simple sentence. It is found in the dependent sentence as well and in like manner the voluntative of affirmative sentences appears in final clauses and in dependent deliberative questions. <To us who are born to the English tongue, who have to use 'will' and 'shall' for the future and shift them from person to person, from question to answer, to the provincial Frenchman who says: Il veut pleuvoir, this transfer from modal to temporal seems to be much ado about nothing. Why, the Greek himself occasionally used *ἔθελω* for the future.>

We now approach the delimitation of the realm of the will between subjunctive and imperative. The subjunctive has the prov-

ince of the first person, the imperative the provinces of the second and third except in aoristic prohibitions in which the subj. has sway though in Homer μή with aor. subj. is confined to the second person.<sup>1</sup> This whole question is complicated with the merging of an original I. E. injunctive form with the subjunctive,—a difficult question which confronts every student on the very threshold of Greek syntax and which does not seem to have been brought any nearer to a solution by Stahl, and as the matter has been treated with great fulness by Professor C. W. E. Miller in this Journal—XIII 418–423 (comp. also Delbrück, *Vgl. Syntax*, II, pp. 356 and 364), I pass on to Stahl's treatment of sentences involving fear. According to him we must distinguish between the prohibitive subjunctive of prohibition and the prohibitive subjunctive of apprehension. These negative sentences, he says, have been 'shoved on' to verbs of fear and have thus become dependent. <Do they ever become really dependent? Are the clauses ever reversible, as happened though comparatively late in final sentences? It is precisely in these sentences of fear that the underlying parataxis makes itself felt and is more important. Neither in Greek nor in Latin can the constructions be brought out didactically without a resort to parataxis (L. G.<sup>3</sup> 550)>.

As the subjunctive is used in Homer in a futural sense, so the future, says Stahl, is used as an expression of will. In the one case we have a temporal use of the mood, in the other a modal use of the tense. <But what if the future was a mood to begin with?> The first person retains its modal force to a large extent. It is found, as we have seen, side by side with the subjunctive (see above, p. 5). The second and third persons in the simple sentence are purely indicative and the 'imperative' future with its negative οὐ is a prediction and not a command; nor is it less effective for being a prediction (S. C. G. 269; A. J. P. XVIII 121, XXIII 246).

The evidence for the voluntative character of the subjunctive, the theory which a few years ago was considered dead and buried (A. J. P. XXIX 368), is summed up thus: (1) The voluntative meaning is the fixed meaning. The futural sense vanishes after Homer and is confined to synthetic sentences. (2) This volun-

<sup>1</sup> Monro § 278, (a) cites for the third person, II. 4, 37, where perhaps the passage may be taken paratactically, and Od. 22, 213, which seems distinctly imperative. Cf. also A. J. P. XIII 423, note 3. C. W. E. M.

tative meaning needs no prop, whereas the futural subjunctive usually takes the adminicle of *κεν* and *άν*, and in the later development is absolutely dependent on *άν*. (3) The futural element is not of the essence of the subjunctive, since the necessity of a special futural form is felt even in Homer. If the futural element were of the essence of the subjunctive, the future indicative would have been superfluous. (4) As the futural meaning belongs to all the persons, why does the voluntative meaning limit itself to the first person—if indeed this meaning is a derivative from the futural sense? <If indeed!> (5) Remnants of futural presents show that the subjunctive was not the original expression of the future. (6) The voluntative meaning of the future is secondary <about which much has been said and more might be said>. (7) Analogies are not wanting for the use of expressions denoting 'will' to serve as futures. <But for that matter 'shall', which has an imperative significance, has also abundant analogies and in Earlier English 'shall' was so far deadened, not only in the first but also in the second and third persons, that the A. V. often produces a false impression on the reader of to-day, as all students of the English Bible know. (Cf. Moulton, Grammar of N. T. Greek, Prolegomena, p. 150 footn. See S. C. G. 370).

The optative in Homer represents not only desire but fancy ('Vorstellung'). As a mood of desire it conveys a wish of the speaker and either stands alone or is introduced by *είθε*, *εί γάρ* also by *εί* alone, more rarely by *ώς*. Now, as a wish is not accompanied by an effort after realization, it belongs to the region of 'Vorstellung', of fancy (p. 236), and so in the declarative sentence the optative as the mood of fancy may serve to express the view or opinion of the speaker. Furthermore, the wish may become a mere concession of a thing to be done, of a statement that is to be accepted. <But the examples of this optative of opinion practically = optative and *άν* are very few and some of them by no means certain. As we exclude from certain spheres of Greek all aorists in which a flick of the pen will change *α* into *ε* and restore the normal future, so passages in which *γε* occurs cannot be considered cogent, and other explanations often lie near. See the list in S. C. G. 450. Od. 14, 123 is not cited in full by Stahl. Now 'garbling' is a hard word to use but I have lived to see so much 'proved' by fragments of sentences that in my S. C. G. I have insisted on indicating gaps. Od. 14, 122-3 runs thus:

οὗ τις κείνον ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν | ἀγγέλλων πείσειε γυναῖκά τε καὶ φίλον

υιόν, with a double *āv* sound that might have seduced Sir Galahad. Not that I dispute the existence of a pure optative in the potential sense for the early period. There is no more theoretical difficulty about it than about the double sense of the opt. (subj.) in Latin (see above, p. 4), but we must insist on the close scrutiny of every alleged example or we shall be swamped with potentials in prose literature. See Wyse on Isaeus 3, 50, 1.

Stahl sums up for the optative as he has summed up for the subjunctive. (1) In sentences of desire the optative goes back to the wish. (2) The optative of fancy (*Vorstellung*) with overwhelming preponderance, indeed with comparatively greater preponderance than the subjunctive, takes to itself a modal particle. (3) In declarative sentences the optative loses its 'timelessness' and becomes futural. In Ionic Prose and Attic this futural signification of opt. + *āv* appears only in principal and 'parathetic' clauses (A. J. P. XXIX 273). <The trouble, as has been already pointed out,—for I must allow myself to repeat (A. J. P. XXIX 402), as Stahl has allowed himself to repeat—lies in the want of a clear recognition of the difference between the time of the action and the time of the ascertainment of the action, a difference recognized in sentences of fear, which are especially valuable because of their primitive character, but not emphasized elsewhere. The resolution of the aor. opt. with *āv* as a rough equivalent of the periphrastic perfect opt. with *āv* serves to simplify matters, and I have not scrupled to call the aorist a shorthand perfect (S. C. G. 439).> (4) The wishing sense of the optative is further supported by the analogy of the subjunctive.

In Stahl the heart of the matter is usually wrapped up in a mass of verbiage. But now and then there is a luminous sentence as where he says 'das Gewünschte erscheint zugleich als Erfordernis'—(p. 240)—but he does not seem to see that this statement disposes of one of his pet examples of the timelessness of the opt., ελοιστο (A. J. P. XXIX 402).

And now we are called on to survey the weary road over which we have travelled, to distinguish again between the 'Urteilssatz'—the declarative sentence—and the 'Begehrungssatz'—the sentence of desire, the one objective, the other subjective. The indicative (*ὁριστική*) represents the predicate as a reality. It is the reigning mood of the declarative sentence. In the sentence of desire there is a distinction between will and wish. The wish is represented by the optative. When it comes to will, we ask whether the will has



to do with the action of the speaker or that of another. For the former the subjunctive (*ὑποτακτική*) is employed, for the latter the imperative (*προστακτική*). But the subjunctive has transcended its sphere. It has annexed the negative injunctive in the aorist and invaded the realm of the aor. imperative. Both <these saucy varlets> subjunctive and optative have encroached on the province of the indicative. The Will begets a Future, the Wish becomes father of a Thought. The Future begotten of the Will was legitimate enough so long as the first person only was the conceived person, but the Will proceeded to take possession of the other persons and to bar the way of the venerable imperative into the declarative sentence.

Now this I call descriptive syntax, not genetic syntax. It certainly does not give the *rationale* of the process and Stahl has not advanced the theory a jot; but I am pleased to observe that after the waterspout of words has passed, the indicative still represents the predicate as a reality, that the subjunctive still anticipates as an act of the will or an act of the judgment, swayed by the will, that the optative is still the mood of the wish and that the wish is still the father of the thought—and that Stahl's fellow-workmen in the grammatical field are not wiped off the face of the earth.

*Repetitio est mater studiorum* is the familiar Jesuit motto inscribed on the walls of Stonyhurst, and he is not a true teacher who does not drive the truth home by reiterated blows of the pedagogical hammer. But what is necessary in the classroom becomes intolerable in a text-book. One asks in amazement what kind of public is to be reached by this book of 800 pages on the syntax of the Greek verb. It is an insult to the only possible readers of such a work to have the beggarly elements of syntax flaunted before the eye of the mind, to be told over and over again that the definitions must be taken in a Pickwickian sense, that there must be a certain elasticity of conception, that there must be different ways of looking at things, that the indicative is no guarantee of objective truth—and that liars can use the indicative as freely as George Washington. But courage! Perhaps we shall have something new when we come to 'the historical development of the moods'.

'The historical development of the moods fulfils itself chiefly in the domain and under the influence of the dependent sentence' (A. J. P. XXIII 128). That is one way of putting it; but is it the



best way? There is, there can be, nothing in the dependent clause that has not its legitimate explanation in the behaviour of the leading clause. There is no new heaven for the optative to aspire to, no new earth for the indicative to plant its feet on.

In Stahl's treatment of the moods we find ourselves confronted again with absolute and relative. As we have had absolute and relative time, so we have absolute and relative modality. By absolute time is meant time relative to the speaker (A. J. P. XXIX 391). By relative time, time relative to something else. Absolute modality deals with the conception of the speaker, relative modality deals with the modality attributed to the person spoken of—attributed by whom? By the speaker. It is all the speaker.

The oldest form of repeating the words or thoughts of another is *oratio recta*. Some languages never get beyond that stage, says Stahl. In other languages, as in English, it is hard to say whether *oratio recta* or *oratio obliqua* is the easier (A. J. P. XXVII 206; cf. XXIX 264). The 'time-forshoving' seems to give no trouble at all. But that may be personal impressionism. In Greek the dependency is indicated by infinitive and participle and also by a number of introductory relative and interrogatory conjunctions. The person-forshoving (precession) was a matter of course. The modal precession comes afterwards, theoretically, for as far back as we can go the optative represents the subjunctive after historical tenses. Against a special iterative optative as distinguished from an iterative subjunctive Stahl protests, as well he may. <Subjunctive and optative are not iterative. It is the leading verb that is iterative, and that makes the sentence iterative. It is thirty-six years (L. G.<sup>3</sup> 597 footn.; cf. L. G.<sup>3</sup> 594 n. 1; A. J. P. III 437) since I objected to the abuse of the terms general and particular—which Goodwin had brought into fashion. 'Whether a condition is particular or general depends simply on the character of the apodosis.' Generic subjunctive and generic optative are strictly speaking quite as much misnomers as iterative subjunctive and iterative optative, but nobody is or ought to be misled by the convenient phraseology. An iterative subjunctive is a subjunctive in an iterative sentence. The prevalence of the 'sidemoods' (S. C. G. 365) in sentences of this sort is due to the greater exactness of the temporal relation, as is shewn by the fact that the home of these constructions is the temporal sentence, in which priority and contemporaneity are of prime importance. Relative

and conditional follow suit. The genesis of this construction is illustrated by an old proverb which Stahl selects doubtless in order to show off his critical acumen. For *ἔγγυα, πάρα δ' ἄρα*, he reads *ἔγγυα = ἔγγυα*. But as the imperative is excluded from the dependent sentence, the subjunctive is used so that we have the series *εἰ ἔγγυα, ὅτε ἔγγυα, ὅστις ἔγγυαται*—<an unluckly example, because of the coincidence of indicative and subjunctive forms>. In other words the subjunctive is an imperative, for Stahl's 'postulierte Annahme' is little else than Krüger's 'geheischte Wirklichkeit'. The sense of the postulate grows weaker and weaker until the subjunctive becomes a mere means of comprehending all the individual cases of a series of phenomena 'individualisierende Zusammenfassung', as Stahl calls it. <But as we have just seen, it is the leading verb and not the subjunctive that does the 'Zusammenfassung'. The subjunctive merely punctuates. The generic character of the subjunctive is mere connotation.> Then follows a long discussion of the use of the subjunctive in comparisons. Comparisons may be made with recurrent actions, the subjunctive being usually employed, although the indicative may be used as in Latin; for, being a Grecian, Stahl is not capable of making the mistake that has actually been made in paralleling the Greek subjunctive with the Latin subjunctive-optative in this class of sentences (see A. J. P. XXV 481).

Now as the subjunctive contains in itself a tendency to realization <cf. Bäumlein's definition, Gr. Modi, p. 177: Tendenz zur Wirklichkeit> it cannot refer to the past, so that in the generic sentence the language <poor thing!> finds itself shut up to the optative which is not bound to any sphere <'Gedanken sind zollfrei'>. Hence the so-called frequentative optative.<sup>1</sup> Of course the original meaning of the optative is effaced here, as the original meaning of the subjunctive is effaced. But if the subjunctive is shut up to the future, the optative is not shut up to the past, and so we find the optative side by side with the generic subjunctive.

And now we proceed to the doctrine of *ἄν* (*κεν*). Attempts to establish a difference between *ἄν* and *κεν* are scornfully dismissed (S. C. G. 426; A. J. P. III 446, XXIII 139). The proportions of *κεν* to *ἄν* in Homer are 3, 3: 1. <Monro gives the figures for the Iliad as 4: 1, showing by comparison a decline in the Odyssey.

<sup>1</sup> By the way, it is an interesting fact, emphasized by Monro, that *εἰ* with the 'iterative opt.', a very familiar construction (A. J. P. XXIV 360) in prose, is non-Homeric (H. G. § 311). Cf. my Pindar, I. E. xcvi.

In Pindar the two particles nearly balance.> The expulsion of *ἄν* from Homer meets with no favor at the hands of Stahl. *ἄν* belongs to the Ionic element of the epos and both particles are found not only in the epos but in elegiac poetry; they are found in Simonides, Pindar and Bakchylides, manifestly after the Homeric pattern. The combination of *ἄν* *κεν* is significant. Rewriting the oldest part of Homer into Aeolic lacks Stahl's sanction. We do not know what the original Aeolic was, a sad conclusion for the restorationists.

Nothing is said of the etymology of *ἄν* and *κεν*, and it is as well. For the ascertainment of the force of these particles Stahl lays down his method of procedure. First comes Homer and first in Homer comes the principal sentence. Outside of the principal sentence the usage is still in process of development. The particles are not used with the infinitive <saving negligible examples, Pindar I. E. cv>. They are not used with the participle and the use with the preterite is restricted to the unreal past. As to the future indicative—which at any rate is a later formation—it takes the modal particles only by reason of its affinity with the subjunctive. This leaves us, according to Stahl, as the point of departure for the investigation only the subjunctive and the optative. <As the subjunctive and optative have to do mainly with the future this would seem to indicate an affinity of the particle *ἄν* with the futural idea just as the affinity of *ὁ ἄλλος χρόνος*, of 'another time' is with the future, but that is a heresy with which Stahl could not possibly have any sympathy, and so I return to my task.>

Commenting on the above statement Stahl remarks that there is no indicative unreal of the present <which recalls Goodwin's triumphant insistence on this point (M. T., Rev. Ed., §435)>. There is no habitual or 'intermittent' (S. C. G. 431) indicative with *ἄν* in Homer. Nothing but the black unreal of the past, as if that were not enough. <To be sure, in the absence of countervailing reality, the unreal of the past becomes a potential.> For the combination of the modal particle with the future Stahl contends stoutly, but the examples he adduces are all *κεν*'s and it requires a great deal of good will to see in Pindar, N. 7, 68: *μαθὼν δέ τις ἄν ἐπεῖ*, an imitation of Il. 4, 176: *καὶ κέ τις ὧδ' ἐπέει*.<sup>1</sup> <The suggestion *ἀνεπεῖ*, by whomsoever first made (Pindar, I. E. civ; cf.

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion of Stahl was anticipated by Leaf, Il. 22, 66.

Aeschin. 3, 155), has been accepted by Schroeder in his new edition and approved by Wilamowitz in his essay on the Seventh Nemean. The emendation is in the line of another, which Stahl accepts, Plat. Legg. 712, ἀνερωτηθείς, for which he gives Madvig the credit (S. C. G. 433). Cf. Goodwin M. T., Rev. Ed., § 195. Such trifles are not worth quarrelling about (A. J. P. XII 99, XXIII 348). The future with *ἄν*, a legitimate construction, was probably crowded out by the optative with *ἄν* and its two admirable tenses (see S. C. G. 444), just as the fut. indic. has been crowded out of the temporal clause by the subjunctive with *ἄν* and its two admirable tenses. > 'Two facts', says Stahl, 'emerge from the examination of the use of the two modal particles in the principal sentence'. (1) It is used in declarative sentences and not in sentences of 'desire', and (2) it does not affect in the least the meaning of the mood. There is no difference <I should prefer to say 'no translatable' difference> between εἴησι and κεν εἴησι, between Od. 6, 275: καὶ νύ τις ὧδ' εἴησι and Od. 4, 391: καὶ δέ τί τοι εἴησι. There is no difference between εἴη in Il. 15, 197: βέλτερον εἴη and in Il. 14, 336: νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη. What is the use of it then? Why, by the modal particle the speaker gives expression to his view or conviction that reality belongs to the utterance, and the essence of it is subjective affirmation, a subjective affirmation, we are told, which is to be distinguished from the objective affirmation of ἦ and the rest. <It is, in short, an indicative tag and is often used parallel with the indic. Hateful to me as the gates of Hades is this paltering with objective and subjective, and I honestly think that the old theory of Gottfried Hermann, which Stahl dismisses in a few words, has more substance in it than all this vague talk. The great trouble is that Hermann did not know how to apply his own theory and made *ἄν* with the subjunctive and the optative with *ἄν* farther from reality, whereas every ingenuous mind must feel that they are near to reality (comp. A. J. P. III 447). Against the conditional notion of *ἄν*, Stahl lifts up his heel, but where does his subjective affirmation come from? The acceptance of the condition.>

<Subjective and objective have clearly been overdone, and the frequent use of these terms gives an old-fashioned tone to Stahl's discussions. 'Impersonal' is better than 'objective', 'personal' than 'subjective'. 'Achromatic' and 'chromatic' perhaps still better. But as all affirmation is personal, it is hard to see how we can draw the line between Stahl's *ἄν* and such confirmatory particles as



ῥή 'verily', δῆ 'clearly', μήν, which outswears the other particles, τοι, which is an appeal to an ideal second person, an appeal to humanity, a cry of the heart for sympathy, whereas πού is an appeal to the heartless world, to the cruel *rerum natura*. ἄν and κεν, as the old conditional theory, point to the speaker's consciousness of limitation, *pro tanto* a guarded affirmation. Of course, this consciousness of limitation may be construed as subjectivity, if you choose. It gives a *quod sciam* reserve. Will and wish that have eventuality in them are nearer to reality than pure will and wish; and in the striving after a more exact future, the subjunctive with ἄν and the optative with ἄν furnish admirable substitutes, the one for the subordinate sentence, the other for the principal. The new future, a manner of desiderative to begin with, cannot make head against the fine old moods and has to yield the road to present and aorist subjunctive with ἄν, to the present and aorist optative with ἄν, wherever temporal exactness is required (A. J. P. XXIII 247).> Of course, says Stahl, this 'modalized' subjunctive has the same rights in the dependent sentence that it has in the independent sentence, but oddly enough it renounces all its rights excepting in the dependent interrogative sentence. Such a limitation as this must give us pause, and we ask with other grammarians whether these are really interrogative sentences or only 'in case' sentences, which are ultimately elliptical conditional sentences (A. J. P. XXIX 273).

In Homer, says Stahl, the optative is used in ideal protases and in equivalent temporal and relative clauses and also in a futural sense. Against the old notion that the εἰ sentences of wish are ideal conditions without an apodosis <like so many bottomless cherubs> Stahl sets his face like a flint (comp. L. G.<sup>3</sup> 261, n. 1); and also against Lange's theory that the εἰ-condition develops from the wish. Against this latter view he argues at length. One of his objections is that the protasis of a conditional sentence may involve a wish against as well as a wish for. <Why not? The imagination conjures up shapes of ill as well as shapes of weal.> In synthetic sentences <non-detachable sentences I should call them in contrast to the detachable or 'parathetic' sentences>, the generic and oblique optatives cannot have ἄν (κεν). 'One cannot affirm and postulate at the same time'. <An ordinary Philistine might say that Stahl, like the rest of us, is performing the double feat at every turn.> Il. 9, 525, the only



passage of the kind, is corrupt, and Stahl suggests *ὄρε περ* after the analogy of 4, 259. The optative as a *modus obliquus* is limited in Homer <as in Greek generally> to dependence on a past tense. This limitation, not being founded on the notion of indirect discourse <as we see from German (cf. Schlicher, A. J. P. XXVI 60-88; B. L. G., A. J. P. XXVII 205)>, must be explained psychologically. The check in the development is due to the liveliness of the Greek spirit which refused to <obliquify> the present and the future, which would not renounce the immediate representation of the past. <Sheer phrase-making.> The optative as the *modus obliquus* of the subjunctive *modus directus* has the same limitations as the optative as *modus obliquus* of the indicative. It must have a past tense to lean on and there is always the reserve of *repraesentatio*. There is no difference <except a difference of liveliness> between the original subjunctive and the oblique optative. <The increase of this *repraesentatio*, therefore, is an indication of the increasing liveliness of the Greek language. The Epos is slow, the New Testament is gay. In a recent number of the IGF. XXII, Anz. 26, Meltzer has reinforced what I have said (A. J. P. XXIII 130) and has cited Wackernagel's objection to these psychological and phraseological explanations>. Then follows the chapter of the 'assimilation' of subjunctive and optative, after pure optative and optative with *ἄν*. The exceptional use of the opt. w. *κεν* (*ἄν*) in synthetic dependent sentences is treated at great length. For *ἐπὶν* with opt. Od. 4, 222; Il. 19, 208; 24, 227 Stahl would read *ἐπεὶ. εἰ κεν* with the opt. after an optative must be taken potentially. 'There is no essential difference', says Stahl, 'between a conditional potential optative and a conditional ideal optative and, besides, the optative with *ἄν* can be used as a future.' It is interesting to observe how Stahl insists on distinctions which he proceeds to wipe out again. In this whole nebulous region of the moods he reminds me of nothing so much as Shelley's Cloud:

I silently laugh  
At my own cenotaph,  
And out of the caverns of rain,  
Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb,  
I arise and unbuild it again.

But while he says that there is no essential difference between the conditional optative and the potential optative in protasis, he

bids us beware of the false doctrine, heresy and schism that there is a futural element in the optative itself, for one of Stahl's cardinal principles is the timelessness of the optative. In winding up this section Stahl wages war against the topsy-turvy and un-historical method of regarding the later usage of the language as a norm for the Homeric use, and protests against changing the Homeric use except in conformity with Homeric practice. Of course, he is beating the air here as he is walking on it elsewhere, for nobody will advocate such practices, and as he professes to be averse to polemics, he might spare the circumambient sphere.

And now we come back to  $\alpha\upsilon$  and  $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ . The temporal indifference of the optative in declarative sentences <the same temporal indifference that we have recognized in the Latin perfect subjunctive, A. J. P. XXIX 402> has led to the introduction of  $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$  and  $\alpha\upsilon$  in Homer for potential and conditional affirmation, of which Stahl goes on to give a few examples (S. C. G. 430). The chief use of the modal particles with the indicative is to denote unreality. Most of the examples are negative (4: 1). Stahl thinks that the negative started the thing <as indeed one always suspects the 'Geist der stets verneint' of being at the bottom of all trouble>. In Homer unreality in the present is represented by the optative +  $\alpha\upsilon$  ( $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ ) <parallel with the wider reach of the present subjunctive in Earlier Latin, which ought not to be pushed to the front in elementary text books>. The unreal imperfect indicative always refers to the past in Homer. The modal particle is never lacking in real unreality. <The suspensive imperfect =  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$  must be considered, I suppose, as unreal unreality. The fact is, the line between the ideal and the unreal is determined by the presence or the absence of an opposing reality; see L. G.<sup>3</sup> 258, note 2, 596, 2>. The unreal wish is expressed in Homer by  $\omega\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  with a particle (S. C. G. 367), as well as by the optative. We see then in Homer the prevalence of  $\alpha\upsilon$  and  $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$  with subj. and opt. in certain relations. As time goes on what was tendency in Homer becomes rule. The modal particle  $\alpha\upsilon$  associates itself more and more with subjunctive and opt., attaches itself to infinitive and participial sentences, serves to differentiate classes of sentences, serves to give sharper signification. There is a loss as well as a gain (A. J. P. XXIII 254). The futural subjunctive and the futural optative go different ways. The futural subjunctive reigns in the dependent, the futural optative in the principal sentence. There are traces of survival here and there as in Pindar

P. 9, 120 where, however,  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  may belong to  $\thetaορώ\omega$  and not to  $\psiαύσσει$  (see B. L. G. in loc. or Bakchyl. 5, 110; A. J. P. XXVII 482). Opt. with  $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$  ( $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ ) disappears from the protasis of the conditional sentence <except where the writer is quoting actually or mentally>.  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  ( $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ ) with the fut. inf. has a sworn foe in Stahl <as it has in me, for I have put it thus: ' $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  with the fut. ind. is dead before  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  with the inf. comes in'. To be sure we have Il. 22, 110, which Stahl ignores, as well he may, and Il. 9, 684, which is an *oratio obliqua* echo of v. 417>. Then we have a long chapter devoted to the correction of the texts that exhibit the solecism and Stahl proceeds to batter down open doors and bravely slay the slain. Pindar P. 1, 109, he reads  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  <which has MS warrant> where I say 'the construction is due to *anacoluthia* rather than to survival', and he quotes Bekk., Anecd. 127, 24, where I quote Lucian (Sol. III 555 R.)—a more interesting authority. <Cf. also [Just. Martyr] Ep. ad Diogn. 2, 4.> 'In Attic', says Stahl, 'the optative with  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  loses its temporal indifference and ceases to refer to the past (see S. C. G. 435). Inscriptional parallelisms between subj. +  $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$  and opt. in protasis are next discussed, and several passages elsewhere in which one might expect the subjunctive and finds the opt. (cf. P. O. 13, 101, I. E. cvii). The survival of the pure subjunctive in clauses where subjunctive with  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  might be expected is documented by a long array of passages from post-Homeric poets, especially in Attic tragedy <which not only loves epic touches but is often hyperepic>. The Pindaric passages are cited, but S. does not stop to notice the uniformity of Pindar's usage (I. E. cvii). At the omission of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  in the dialogue of Attic tragedy, he balks; in Attic comedy, he proceeds to emend. In Ionic prose (Herodotos) he notes the omission in temporal sentences of limit <where the notion of finality helps to keep the construction alive, as the subjunctive is kept alive in English sentences of the same sort (A. J. P. XXIV 401)>, but he wages war against the omission in Attic prose except in Thukydides. The historian of the great tragedy of the Peloponnesian war may well be influenced by tragic usage, so that when he omits  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  in temporal sentences of limit and in generic subjunctive sentences we are not shocked beyond measure (cf. A. J. P. XXIII 140). However, Thuk. VI 21, 1:  $\epsilon\iota \xi\nu\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\iota\upsilon \alpha\iota \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma \phi\omicron\beta\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$  he considers 'bedenklich'. But while S. is so merciless in damning the omission of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  in subjunctive clauses outside a certain range, he

is extremely liberal in allowing the omission of the particle *ἄν* in opt. clauses. See my S. C. G. 450, where I have discussed the matter at some length. Pindar P. 10, 21: *θεὸς εἴη | ἀπήμων κέαρ*, where recent editors recognize a concessive opt., he pronounces nonsense.

In post-Homeric Greek Stahl recognizes a great advance in the use of the *ἄν* with the preterite that runs counter to reality, in the affirmative-potential use of *ἄν* of regular or occasional occurrence, but the limitation of the intermittent use is emphasized <which can readily be discerned from the range of examples in S. C. G. 431>. Another extension that Stahl notes is the unreal wish with *εἴθε*, *εἰ γάρ*, which according to him is conclusive against the origin of the unreal condition from the unreal wish. <It would be useless to urge the point that emergence in literature is not identical with emergence in language. This is the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of much that passes for historical syntax>, and Stahl goes on to shew that in contrast with this innovation the optative is used by preference for the realizable wish. But who knows, and who in a moment of excitement cares, what is realizable, what not? No wonder that passionate wishes for the unreal sometimes take the optative form. It is a pity that Stahl had not thought of that when he was enlarging on *ἔλοιτο* (A. J. P. XXIX 402).

At a point beyond the limits of this article Stahl (S. 369 fig.) distinguishes four kinds of optative with *ἄν*. 1) The affirmative. 2) The potential. 3) The conditional. 4) The desiderative. Needless to say I have no sympathy with this kind of analysis. There is no specific gravity to keep the rings apart as in some kinds of *pousse-café*; and moreover in what he calls here the desiderative form of the wish *βουλοίμην ἄν* (p. 274) he has to admit that with verbs of wishing and willing the optative with *ἄν* is pleonastic. Everybody knows that *βουλοίμην ἄν* is preferred in sober prose to the pure optative of wish, which is a rare form except in poetry (S. C. G. 398). The orators prefer the calmer statement to the passionate wish, just as we say 'I should like' rather than 'would that—' which one might live a life time without hearing in current conversation. According to Stahl *ἐβουλόμην (ἤθελον) ἄν* is a 'forshoving of modality' to match *βουλοίμην ἄν*. It is sadly illogical according to him. It is not the wish but the thing that is unreal. This is a deplorable inelasticity in Stahl. The indicative in final clauses after an unreal wish and the like is



explained in his own tortuous way. It is simply an organic part of the wish or condition, and for that matter the leading clause might be omitted (A. J. P. IV 434). The old-fashioned generic optative dies out more and more. <The survival with the infinitive, for the majority of the later examples belong under this head, is easily explained on the ground of the affinity between optative and infinitive (S. C. G. 400; A. J. P. XXIV 106).> In the post-Homeric stage generic subjunctive and generic optative (optative of indefinite frequency) become more sharply distinguished <a matter of connotation, as we have seen>. The parallel use of the indicative Stahl calls 'einhheitliche Zusammenfassung' in contradistinction to the 'individualisierende Zusammenfassung' of the subjunctive and optative. This sounds very subtle, but as soon as Stahl begins to apply it and says that the present indicative in conditional sentences is used when a general assumption is made and there is no thought of the individual cases he runs counter to the feeling of the language. Elsewhere he sins chiefly by over-refining. Here he reverses the true state of things. *εἰ τις*, as I said long ago, is a two-edged sword (A. J. P. III 438). Pindar shifts according to the tense from pres. indic. to aor. subj. (I. E. cvii).

The treatment of the optative in oblique discourse presents nothing new, as f. i. the occasional use of the mood after the perfect of the farther end = aorist. Nor is it worth while to dwell on the examples of the optative as representatives of the subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*. Causal sentences with optatives for indicatives belong to the rarities. The corresponding construction in Latin—*quod* with the subjunctive—is usually represented in Greek by *ὥς* with the participle. The O. O. examples of the opt. in causal sentences are nearly all from Xenophon <in conformity with his hyper-orthodox love of the mood>. Relative sentences in which the optative stands for the indicative are also infrequent. Notorious is Soph. O. R. 1247: *ὅφ' ἂν θάνοι μὲν αὐτός*. Sometimes the opt. is due to the merging of relative and interrogative, as Pindar O. 6, 49, where see my note, sometimes to the assimilative swing of other O. O. optatives. Nowhere does Stahl recognize the principle that the shift from *εἰ* with subj. to *εἰ* with opt. is a mechanical tradition from the time of an original *εἰ* with subj. (S. C. G. 399), and when he comes to Soph. Tr. 903: *κρύψας' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μὴ τις εἰσίδοι*, he is greatly guilty of a resolution like this: *ἐνθα μὴ τις ἂν αὐτὴν εἰσίδῃ*, unless we treat Stahl's Greek as he himself has treated so



many passages and suppress  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  before  $\bar{\alpha}\nu$ .  $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha$  as catercousin to  $\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha$ , which never quite lost its relative sense, might readily take the final construction of  $\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha$ . The old question whether the opt. +  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  can be used in a clause representing  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  with subj. (cf. P. 9, 120) is decided by Stahl in the negative. Nearly all the passages are shaky. There are two cases. Either  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  holds over from the  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\delta\epsilon$   $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  of the original form, a bit of sheer carelessness in the transfer, or, which Stahl will not allow, there is a notion of potentiality. <On  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$   $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  + opt. see A. J. P. IV 418 footn.; XXIV 403.> Then follows a long list of passages in which subjunctive and opt. forms are used without any material difference.

The old form, the Homeric form of indirect discourse with merely a shift of the persons, does not die out <nay, it lives on, awaiting its restoration>, but the oblique opt. gains ground more and more. Herodotos and Thukydides favor the direct form; Xenophon the 'modus obliquus'; Plato not so much. This general statement is followed by statistics, the provenience of which is not given. Then come the consecutive sentences, practically post-Homeric (A. J. P. VII 166). Thence they spread. As for the inf. with  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon\nu$  Stahl denies the genuineness of Il. 9, 684 (see above, p. 17). The earliest example is Sappho 68. <Lyric fragments must always be cited with extreme caution.> Next comes Pindar with  $\kappa\epsilon\nu$  <I. E. cv>. The participle begins to take  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  in the Attic drama. On P. 10, 62 'see Christ', see others. The orators use both constructions freely, the infinitive more freely than the participle, because there are more infinitive constructions than participial <a somewhat superfluous observation, if it were not for the nonsensical use so often made of statistics>. Then follows a long chapter on the position of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  and the repetition of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  <S. C. G. 459 foll.>.

$\text{Ὀὕτω τὰν μεσάταν ὁδὸν ἄνυμες.}$  Instead of absolving my task in two or three numbers, as I had hoped to do, I have thus far traversed much less than half of Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb. But I will no longer abuse the patience of the readers of the Journal and the contributors thereto. The American Journal of Philology is not the American Journal of Greek Syntax, and I must say good bye to Stahl, at least for a long time, and instead of discussing the rest of the portly volume, I will content myself with jotting down references to the various articles in which I have handled the subjects that remain. There are coincidences and differences enough to furnish forth another series of articles, but

I doubt whether it would be worth while to go over the well-trodden paths for the sake of illustrations to my own writings. I shudder as I recall the conditional sentence III 158 foll. and the temporal sentence II 465 foll.; XXIV 388 (where Fuchs has his hole), and the final sentence IV 416 foll.; VI 53 foll., and the consecutive sentences VII 16 foll., and the infinitive, both the articular, which I christened, and the anarthrous III 192-202; VIII 328-37; IX 254; XXVII 201, and the participle IX 137 foll., and the negatives I 45-47; III 202; X 124; and then think of the notes to my Justin Martyr, to my Pindar, and the recurrent syntactical spirits in *Brief Mention*. I might, it is true, have written a little article headed 'What I have learned from Stahl', but even then there would have been a running comment with indications as to what I did not need to learn from Stahl.

One word more, and that a word of apology to the eminent author and the benevolent reader. In going over by the fierce light of print what I have written about this monumental book, which reminds me by its massiveness of the Palais de Justice at Brussels, I am very sorry for my tone, which would have been unpardonable in a younger man, hardly to be forgiven even in a man who is Stahl's senior. Unfortunately the fragments of Solon are jumbled in my mind, as they are in the MSS, with the verses of Theognis,—Solon the sweet-tempered, Theognis the sour. The likeness of my old master, Boeckh, looks down upon me as I write. His Solonian motto at sixty-five was *γῆράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος*, and I try to live up to that motto, but every now and then a musty piece of wisdom is offered to me for my digestion, and then I am fain to say with the Megarian: *μή με δίδασκ'· οἱ τοὶ τῆλικός εἰμι μαθεῖν* (A. J. P. XXVIII 107).

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

CORRIGENDA. A. J. P. XXIX 263, l. 35, read 'the mood of the wish'. 264, l. 18, read XXVII. On the same page I should have noted that *πτώσεις ἰδῆαι* and *πτώσεις κοιναί* are terms that I adopted many years ago from Westphal, Gr Formenl. XIV, *πτώσεις κοιναί* being the regular cases, *πτώσεις ἰδῆαι* the case-like formations such as *-θι* and *-θεν*. XXIX 272, footn., read Ginneken.

## II.—ON THE TEXT OF MENANDER'S EPITREPONTES, WITH NOTES ON THE HEROS.

In the discussion of the plot of the *Epitrepontes* in the last number of this Journal, XXIX, 410ff., the attempt was made to show that the Tischendorf fragment Kock III, p. 421, as well as the verso of the same parchment strip, which Jernstedt published, is to be assigned to this play; that these two passages come from the final scenes of the third Act; and that the papyrus fragments R<sup>2</sup> and R<sup>1</sup> probably precede respectively the *recto* and *verso* of the parchment strip.<sup>1</sup> It was there maintained that this identification and arrangement restored to the play a series of consistent Smicrines scenes beginning with NT<sup>1</sup>, and that these scenes in turn brought welcome and valuable information regarding the plot of the play.

Without further discussion the six passages which we have thus connected with each other are here given, with such restorations as seem best to suit the context. Restorations inclosed in square brackets are credited to their authors in the notes; those in pointed brackets are proposed by the writer. That we may have a definite starting-point for the reconstruction of the latter half of Act III, we should have before us the last lines of the monologue of Onesimus, contained in NT<sup>1</sup>.

### ACT III.

Scene 4 (end). Onesimus alone.

Onesimus: . . . . ἀλλ' οὐτοσί

<sup>1</sup> If we can depend upon Lefebvre's indication of a lower margin of R (he is wrong in some cases), R<sup>2</sup> would thus belong at the bottom of p. 15 of the quaternion and R<sup>1</sup> at the bottom of p. 16. The interval between the last broken lines of R<sup>2</sup> and the Tischendorf fragment, and between the latter and R<sup>1</sup>, would be from none to three verses; while between R<sup>1</sup> and the Jernstedt fragment the interval would be three verses or more, according to the size of the parchment page.

360. τίς ἐσθ' ὁ προσιών; Σμικρίνης ἀναστρέφει  
 ἐξ ἄστεως πάλιν ταρα[κτι]κῶς ἱ[χ]ων  
 αὐθις· πέπ[υσ]ται τὰς δα <πάνας Χαρ>ισ <ίου>  
 παρὰ τινος οὗτος; ἐκ[ποδῶν δὲ β]ούλομαι  
 365. ποεῖν ἐ[μ]αυτὸν] . . . . . δο[κ]εῖν  
 προ . . . . . κα]ί με δεῖ<sup>1</sup>

v

[Exit Onesimus through parodos.]

Scene 5. Smicrines alone.

Immediately after the departure of Onesimus Smicrines enters from the city. He explains why he has returned, no doubt verifying Onesimus' conjecture, v. 362. He certainly has not yet learned of the birth of a child by Pamphila, for that is revealed to him only toward the end of the play (v. 514). He of course knew of the alienation of Charisius and his daughter; doubtless his motive in visiting them in Act I was to effect a reconciliation (M<sup>1</sup>, v. 11, p. 429 supra). He then believed that it was only a domestic squall that would blow over. He is not at all excited when we meet him in the Arbitration Scene; he is gruff and overbearing, but that was his nature. He had not then known, evidently, of the wild course of life, with its attendant extravagance, on which Charisius had embarked. It is about this that he has now heard rumors, this is the unpardonable offense in his eyes. Onesimus has read his character aright when he suggests the *δαπάναι*; cf. v. 481, ὁ χαλεπός, ἐπὶ τὴν προῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ἦκων, and v. 483, λογιστικοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρός.

Smicrines probably announces here his intention of separating Pamphila from Charisius by legal action and thus saving the imperilled dowry. Had he known of Pamphila's illegitimate child, he could not have contemplated this action. But it was Charisius' deliberate purpose to force her to take this step, rather than himself to bring suit against her, and for this reason he has plunged into reckless debauchery and extravagant expenditure—or rather he makes a pretence of so doing for the sake of making the desired impression upon his miserly father-in-law.<sup>2</sup> And the

<sup>1</sup> 362. πέπυσται Wilamowitz. At the end τασλα . . . . . ισ pap., with no indication of letters beyond.—364. Wilamowitz.—365–6. Körte.

<sup>2</sup> It is only by this supposition that we get an insight into his true character. He is chaste in his relations with Habrotonon (vv. 220, 462) and prides himself

present Act shows us that his purpose has been accomplished—or would have been if his lapse from virtue the year before had not become known and given a different turn to affairs.

A gap of some twenty-seven lines, then NT<sup>1</sup>. In this interval enter Onesimus<sup>1</sup> and the Cook from the city side, and while they speak Smicrines observes them at a distance. Onesimus takes the Cook to task for being so late in keeping his engagement. Onesimus had been sent to the city to summon him in the first Act; in the third Act we are told that the company is gathering (v. 195) and that the Cook has not arrived (v. 166).

Scene 6. Smicrines (at one side), Onesimus, Cook.

- NT<sup>2</sup>. Cook (continuing): . . . <οὐ γὰρ μαγείρων ἐστὶ δὴ>  
οὐδεὶς, σ<αφῶς οἶδ',> ἐχθρὸς ὑμῖν. Ones.: ποικίλον  
ἄριστον ἀρι[στῶμε]ν! ὦ τρισάθλιος  
ἐγὼ κατὰ πολλ[ά]! νῦν μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως  
δ[ια]σκεδᾶν <πρὸ νυ>κ<τ>ός· ἀλλ' ἐὰν πάλιν  
5. π<αραβῇ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ> μάγειρ', οὗ [τι]ς τύχη  
<σώσει σε. Cook: μηκέτ' ἐμ>ὲ καλεῖτ'. εἰς μακαρίας<sup>3</sup>

[Exit Onesimus into the house of Chaerestratus.

The purpose of this brief scene between Onesimus and the Cook is twofold: to bring the Cook to the house, that progress may be made with the day's festivities (and incidentally to furnish some lively cook-scenes to relieve the plot), and to enrage Smicrines still further by this ocular demonstration of the truth of the reports he had heard. It is to be an expensive entertainment. The Cook is of course accompanied, as an artist of his class should be, by a troupe of assistant cooks and waiters.

In the lacuna of ca. 54 verses that intervenes between NT<sup>2</sup> and R<sup>2</sup> it is possible that the Cook talks for a time with Smicrines

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upon his impeccable conduct (vv. 429 ff.). His ὑψηλότης has even irritated his less squeamish father-in-law (NT<sup>2</sup>). For a justification of this view see supra, p. 421 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The new Photius fragment supports the view that it is Onesimus who here speaks to the Cook: τί δ' οὐ ποεῖς | ἄριστον; δ' δ' ἀλύει πάλαι κατακείμενος. The quotation seems to be from the earlier part of this same scene.

<sup>2</sup> 2. Wilamowitz.—3. Robert, πολλά γε Körte, καταπόλλυς Leo.—4. For ὅπως w. infin. see Kühner-Gerth II, p. 377, Anm. 7. The object to be understood would be τοὺς ξένους.—6. μή με Croiset.



before entering the house. Fr. 175 K. would then belong here, spoken by the Cook with reference to Charisius.

**Scene 7. Smicrines, Cook.**

NT<sup>3</sup>, v. 12.

**Smic.: 2 tipos**

**R<sup>1</sup>. Smicrines (continuing):**

5.  $\begin{array}{c} \text{τις} \\ \text{θω} \\ \langle \text{καὶ μ} \rangle \text{ ἅλα} \\ \langle \text{οὐκ οἰμῶξ} \rangle \text{ εἶται ;} \\ \langle \text{τοῦ} \rangle \text{ βίου} \\ [\text{το}] \text{ῦ δυστ}[\text{υχούς}] \\ [\text{τὸ}] \text{ν δυστυχή} \\ \text{ν. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐγὼ} \\ \text{ὡτε πράττω τῶν ἐμῶν} \\ \text{ΙΟ.} \quad \langle \text{ἀπάγει} \rangle \text{ ν τὴν θυγατέρα} \\ \text{σω καὶ σχεδὸν} \\ \text{ν} \epsilon^1 \end{array}$

To this scene, after a very short gap, belongs the Tischendorf fragment. Smicrines reveals his true character with brutal frankness. He is not concerned about his daughter's happiness nor shocked at what he believes to be Charisius' moral downfall, but only anxious lest the dowry be squandered.

**Tischendorf fragment.<sup>2</sup>**

Smicrines (continuing): . . . . <πίνει δι τιμώτατον>  
 ἄνθρωπος οἶνον· αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐκπλήτ[τομαι]  
 ἔγωγ'. ὑπὲρ [δὲ] τοῦ μεθύσκεσθ' οὐ λέγω·  
 ἀπ[λη]στία γάρ ἐσθ' ὅμοιον τοῦτό γε,  
 εἰ καὶ βιάζεται κοτύλην τις τοῦ βολοῦ  
 5. ὠνούμενος πίνειν ἑαυτόν. τοῦτ' ἐ[γώ]  
 προσέμενον. οὗτος ἑμπεσὼν διασκ[εδᾷ]

<sup>1</sup>9. τῶν ἐμῶν πράττω pap., corrected by Leo.—10. Von Arnim compares v. 466.

<sup>2</sup>An excellent photograph of this parchment, which I owe to the courtesy of M. Kobeko, Director of the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg, clears up a number of doubtful points in this text. The  $\omega$  at the end of 13 is practically certain; the word  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  must be the adjective,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\upsilon$ , cf. Dem. 21, 49:  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  οὕτως  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon$  καὶ  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\iota$ . In 15 I read  $\Pi\Lambda$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$  for Jernstedt's  $\nu\tau$  . .  $\omega$ ; the  $\epsilon$  has a short lower arm, as e. g. once in 6; before  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}$  the

τὸν ἔρωτα. τί δ' ἐμοὶ τοῦτο; πάλιν οἰμῶ[ξεται]!  
 προῖκα δὲ λαβὼν τάλαντα τέτταρ' ἀργύ[ρου],  
 οὐ τῆς γυναικὸς νενόμιχ' αὐτὸν οἰκέ[την].

10. ἀπόκοιτός ἐστι. πορνοβοσκῶ δώδεκα  
 τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμὰς δίδωσι, δώδεκα!  
 <πέπυσ> τ' ἀκ[ρι]βῶς οὐτοσὶ τὰ πράγματα.  
 <τί δ' εἰ> εἰς διατροφὴν ἀνδρὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμέρῳ[ν]  
 <ἀρκεῖν λ> ἐλ[όγ]ισται; δὴ' ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας.  
 15. [τελεῖ] ν π<λ> εἰω πεινῶντι τίς <λόγο>ς ποτέ;

[Chaerestratus approaches with Onesimus.

Scene 8. Smicrines, Chaerestratus, Onesimus.

16. Ones.: <ὁρῶ τιν'> ὅς <σε> προσμένει, Χαιρέ<στρατε>.  
 Chaer.: [τίς ὁδ' ἐσ] τί δ[ή], γλυκύταθ'; Ones.: ὁ τῆς <νύμφης  
 π> ατήρ,  
 <καταλοιδορ> ὦν ὡς ἄθλιός τις <τῆς τύχης>.  
 Smicr.: <καὶ νῦν ἔχει τιν', ὁ> τρισκακοδ[αίμων, ψάλ]τριαν,  
 <τὴν τ' οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦ>σαν γυναῖκα <βούλεται>

ιοι

ς

letter C is visible. The supplement λόγος (due to B. L. G.) might crowd the space a little. In v. 16 not χαιρῶ but χαιρε (or ο), making the proper name almost a certainty. In 5 of the verso ροπον is as likely as τοπον.

The punctuation in the recto is important for the restoration: ἐαντόν: in 5 (w. paragraphus), ἔρωτα· in 7 (w. paragraphus), δίδωσι· in 11, πράγματα, in 12, -σαι· and ἡμέρας: in 14, γλυκύτατε· and -ατηρ· in 17. The indications of alternating speakers in 5 and 7 can hardly be correct; the successive charges against the delinquent person must proceed from the same speaker. The whole passage has the character of a tirade uninterrupted by a second person. The marks in 5 and 7 are probably due to the questions and answers which the speaker addresses to himself, which led the scribe to assume a dialogue. Precisely the same thing happened in the Cairo papyrus, Epitr. 476, 477, where double point and paragraphus are wrongly inserted in the discourse of Onesimus.

<sup>1</sup> The positive form of statement in v. 1 shows that the fault just mentioned was not simply drinking, or drinking to excess, but wasting money in drink. ἐκπλήττομαι, Cobet.—3. ἀπληστίς Wilamowitz, ἀπιστία MS.—4. τοῦβολοῦ Cobet.—7. τὸν ἔρωτα could easily be a corruption of τὰ πατῶια. Smicrines does not care if Charisius uses up his own inheritance. Cf. Diph. 553 K., τὰ πατῶια βρῖκει καὶ σπαθῆ. With τὸν ἔρωτα the figure is unparalleled.—8. Cobet.—9. Cobet.—12. . . . . τὰκ MS, πέπυσ' Van Leeu., ἀκριβῶς Hiller.—13. . . . . εἰ, τί δ' Jern., εἰς Cobet.—14. . . . . ἐλ . . . . . σται MS, λελόγισται

After a short gap comes R<sup>1</sup>. Chaerestratus precedes Smicrines as speaker.

- R<sup>1</sup>. αυ  
 ἀλλ'  
 απα  
 οὐδ' α  
 5. μέρος τ  
 ἢ μή με  
 ἡμῖν κεκήδ[ευκας Smic.: [φαίνεται]  
 ὑψηλὸς ὢν τις [οὗτος]. οὐκ οἰμώζεται,  
 καταφθαρεῖς τ' ἐν ματρυλείῳ τὸν βίον  
 10. μετὰ τῆς καλῆς <πόρνης τὸ λοιπὸν ἡδέως>  
 βιώσειθ', ἡμᾶς δ<sup>1</sup> . . . . . ;

After a gap of from two to six lines we come to the end of the same scene in the Jernstedt fragment. The first words, which are those of Chaerestratus, imply that he has just made some promise; perhaps he has given his assurance that Charisius will mend his ways. He too is unaware that Charisius is pretending to be dissolute with the deliberate purpose of forcing a process for a separation upon Smicrines.

Jernstedt fragment. Continuation of Scene 8.

Chaerestratus (continuing):

- [οὕτως ἀγα]θόν τί σοι γένοιτο! Smic.: μὴ λέγε  
 <σύ μοι τάδ'>. οὐκ ἐς κόρακας; οἰμώξει μακρά!  
 [ἀλλ' εἴμι ν]ῦν εἴσω, σαφῶς τε πυθόμενος  
 [τὰ πράγματ' ε]ὑ τὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς, βουλεύσομαι  
 5. [ὅτινα τρ]όπον πρὸς τοῦτον ἤδη προσβαλῶ.

[Exit Smicrines into Charisius's house.]

Ones.: <βούλει μ> ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἤκοντ' ἐνθάδε  
 [φράσω]μεν; Chaer.: οἶον κίναδος! οἰκίαν ποεῖ

Cobet.—15. . . . . νπ. εω MS, τελεῖν Gomperz, ἀρκεῖν Kock. -τιτετις MS, dittography?—16. . . . . οσ . . . προσμενειχαιρε MS.—17. Jern., νύμφης Kock.—19, end, Jern.

<sup>1</sup> Verses 8, 9=Men., Epitr. 177 K. (omitting τ'), identified by Von Arnim. The change of speakers in v. 7 is indicated in the papyrus.—7. κεκήδευκεν Leo, φαίνεται Robert.—8. οὗτος, Von Arnim. οἰμώζεται; cf. πάλιν οἰμώζεται, Tisch., v. 7. The question, βιώσεται, is of course sarcastic.

[ἀνάστα]τον. Ones.: πολλὰς ἐβουλόμην ἄμα.

Ch.: <τί λέγεις>; On.: μίαν μὲν τὴν ἐφεξῆς. Ch.: τὴν ἐμήν;

10. Ones.: [τὴν σ]ὴν γ'. ἴωμεν δεῦρο πρὸς Χαρίσιον.

[A crowd of drunken youth approaches.

Chaer.: [ἴωμ]εν, ὥς καὶ μεираκυλλίων ὄχλος

[εἰς τ]ὸν τόπον τις ἔρχεθ' ὑποβεβρεγμένων

[οἷς μὴ] νοχλεῖν εὐκαιρον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ.

[Exeunt Chaerestratus and Onesimus into the former's house.

### CHORUS.

#### Act IV.

Scene 1. Onesimus alone.

Enter Onesimus from the house of Chaerestratus.

Ones.: ἐπισ[φαλῇ μὲν] πάντα τὰνθ[ρώπει' ἐμοί],

15. οἶμ[αι], πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγὴ καὶ νόμος

καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου παντὸς κριτὴς

ὁ δεσπότης πρὸς τοῦτον εἶνα δεῖ ζῆν ἐμέ.

ὁ γέρω <ν δ' ἐκείνος, ὁ κατάρτος Σμικρίνης> ,

οὐδὲ λό<γον ἡμῶν οὐδ' ἐπιστροφὴν ἔχει><sup>1</sup>.

On Jernstedt's 2b only scanty remains of the first three lines of the new act are preserved; viz., ἐπι . . παντατα in v. 14, and καί at the beginning of v. 16. But on the third strip of parchment of the Uspenski collection Jernstedt read, side by side with and over some remains from Menander's Canephorus (identified by Kock), the first letters of six verses written backward. These letters he recognized as an offset from the bottom of 2b, for the first and third lines begin ἐπισ and καίτου respectively. Evidently 2b and 3a had at some time been stuck together, and 3a had

<sup>1</sup> 1. οὕτως Kock, ἀγαθόν Jernstedt.—3. Jern.—4. ντα, Jern.—5. Van Leeuwen, τοπον MS.—6, 7. Fully one more letter is required in the space in 6 than in 7. φράσωμεν Jernstedt. For the participial construction see Kock on Arist. Nub. 1365 and Rh. Mus. 48, p. 235.—8. Kock.—10, 11, 12. Jernstedt.—13. Kock. The changes of speakers in vv. 1, 7, 8, 9 are indicated by the colon. It is possible that v. 5 should be given to Onesimus; in that case read τίνα δὴ τρόπον.—15. οἶομαι MS. These verses are quoted, from ἐμοί, omitting οἶμαι.—19. ἡμῶν or ἡμῶν, ἔχων, ἔχω or ἔχει are variously quoted. The γέρων of v. 18 is of course Smicrines, the δεσπότης is Charisius.

taken most of the ink from 2b. From these remains Jernstedt recognized the original of Men. fr. inc. 581 K., by the aid of which he restored vv. 15-17. The beginning of Men. fr. inc. 836 K., quoted to illustrate λόγος = φροντίς, also coincides with the remains of v. 19 and suits the context admirably. τὰνθρώπει' in v. 14 is due to Professor C. W. E. Miller, for Jernstedt's τὰνθρώπων.

During the song of the Chorus Onesimus has witnessed the interview between Charisius and his father Chaerestratus, who no doubt had been affected by the threats of Smicrines and desired to bring about a change in his son's course of life. Probably Charisius now gave him a full explanation of his motives and the ends to be gained by his apparently dissolute conduct. The insolence of Smicrines and his overbearing demands have not caused him to change his purpose. After an expression of loyalty to his master (with which cf. Habrotonon's injunction in Q<sup>1</sup>), Onesimus explains to the audience the present state of affairs.

The affairs of the household have reached a crisis. So far the plan of Onesimus and Habrotonon has not succeeded, because the mother of the child has not been found. Probably one of the early scenes in Act IV was a conversation between Onesimus and Habrotonon as the latter is about to see Charisius and tell him of the discovery of his child. Here would fall also the scene or scenes of the jesting Cook, of which we have several small fragments, and the dialogue between Smicrines and Pamphila if Men. fr. 566 K. is rightly referred to this play by Robert. The interval of three and a half pages between the beginning of Act IV in the Jernstedt fragment and the Sophrona-Habrotonon scene in H<sup>1</sup> was probably devoted mainly to the counter-plot of Onesimus and Habrotonon.

Habrotonon has so carefully explained her scheme to Onesimus in vv. 295 ff. that we have a fair idea of the situation into which we are introduced at the beginning of H<sup>1</sup>, in spite of the fact that about three and a half pages of the papyrus (ca. 125 vv.) are lost between the Jernstedt fragment and this, and in spite of the exceedingly mutilated condition of the first eleven lines of H<sup>1</sup>. Habrotonon has visited the wife of Syrus, wept over the baby, and pumped the foster-mother for information; she has then interviewed Charisius with the child in her arms. He evidently believes her story that she was the girl of the Tauropolia episode (H<sup>1</sup>, vv. 22 ff.). When she appears at the beginning of H<sup>1</sup>, she



has just come from this interview, very happy at the outcome, and she is now prepared to undertake at her leisure the search for the mother (v. 320). A few moments before Sophrona had come from Pamphila's house and had explained to the audience the pitiful condition of her mistress, hopelessly alienated from her husband, and on the point of a rupture with her father, who has threatened to take her away by force if she will not consent to go of her own accord. The bitter quarrel between Pamphila and her father which she has witnessed fills her with despair. At first she does not see Habrotonon with the child, decked out with the *γνωρίσματα*, but the woman's demeanor and words soon draw her attention. She infers that the child does not belong to the woman who carries it; later she sees the *δέραια* and recognizes the child. Habrotonon, on her part, has at the first glance recognized in Sophrona the attendant of the girl of the Tauropolia episode.

Körte's new readings have considerably advanced our understanding of vv. 7-11 of H<sup>1</sup>, which may have run about as follows:

Habrotonon (continuing): καλῶς σε, παῖ,—

Soph.: οὐ <παῖδα τόνδ' αὐτῇ τεκεῖν δ> οκεῖς, <γύν> αι.

Habr.: αὐτῇ 'στὶν [ἦν ἐγ] ᾤδα! χαῖρε, φιλτάτη

γ<ύναι, σὺ> δ<εἶξον> δ[εῦ]ρό μοι τὴν σ[ὴν θέαν].

10. Soph.: λέγ' ἐμοί, [τί] λέγεις; Habr.: πέρυσσι <γεν> ἐσθ' <ἄμ'> ἐμοὶ <σὺ φῆς>

τοῖς Ταυροπ(ο)λίοις; εἰπ<έ· μ> ἐλ<λεις>; ἢ<σθ' ἐκεῖ>;<sup>1</sup>

To leave no doubt that the woman she sees within the house is really the wife of Charisius, Habrotonon deftly questions Sophrona. In v. 20 the first words of this leading question are broken away, and most of the attempts to restore them involve a different management of the speakers from that indicated in the papyrus. Here we must assume, as Laird has well shown (Class. Phil. 3, p. 335) that the ring again comes into play. When Sophrona asks, "Are you absolutely certain that Charisius is the father", I conceive that Habrotonon answered with another question, one that would bring certainty to Sophrona as to the identity of the father and to herself as to the identity of the

<sup>1</sup> 8. Körte.—9. δέυρο Von Arnim. σὴν θέαν Robert.—10. τί J. W. White, γ' δ Crönert and Körte. The paragraphus indicates a change of speaker in or at the end of this line.

mother. So holding out the ring she asks, "Do you know this to be his, whose wife I see within"?

Habr.: *Χαρισίου*. Soph.: *τοῦτ' οἶσθ' ἀκριβῶς, φιλάτῃ;*

Habr.: *<τόν>δ' (i. e. the ring) οἶσθα τοῦδ' ὄνθ>, οὐ γὰρ τὴν  
νύμφην ὄρω,*  
*τὴν ἔνδον οὖσαν;* Soph.: *ναίχι*. Habr.: *μακαρία γύναι!*

The following miscellaneous textual changes are suggested:

131. Syr.: *οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον, εἴ τι τῶν τούτου σε δεῖ  
ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ζητεῖ<ν> λαβεῖν.*

*ζητεῖς* pap. "It is not right, just because you have got to give up some of this child's property, to try in addition to get him too". Davus has set up the alternative (vv. 71 ff.) that Syrus shall either keep the child as it is, without the tokens, or give it back, protesting against the claim that the tokens go with the child. As the text stands *εἰ* is made to do double duty and with a different sense in each clause—'because' and 'if'. I doubt whether so awkward a construction can be paralleled. I see that Van Leeuwen in his second edition, while retaining *ζητεῖς*, queries *ζητεῖν* in the note. It is the simplest remedy.

156. Dav.: *[ὅπως σ]ὺ νῦν  
τούτῳ φυλάξεις αὐτ<ὰ> σώσεις τ' ἀσφαλῶς>,  
εὖ ἴσθι, τηρήσω σε π[άν]τα [τόν χρό]νον.*

The construction *τηρεῖν ὅπως* with the future indicative is so common that Lefebvre's restoration of v. 156 should be accepted, though not his punctuation, which cuts off the *ὅπως*-clause from *τηρήσω*. Cf. Arist., Pol. 7. 1309 b 16, *τηρεῖν ὅπως κρεῖττον ἔσται τὸ—πληθος*, and Isoc. 7, 30. We require an object of *φυλάξεις* referring to the tokens (Leo, Hense, Ellis *αὐτά*), and as much emphasis as possible on the injunction itself. Hense's *ἐπιμελῶς* or *ἀσφαλῶς* was in the right direction; I prefer the latter on account of v. 191, *ἢ σφῆξε τοῦτον (the ring) ἀσφαλῶς*. For *σώσεις* cf. also v. 180, *οἶον τὸ σῶσαι χρήματ' ἐστὶν ὀρθανοῦ!*

210. *καλῶς [ἔχει]  
ἕτερόν τι πρὸς τούτοις κυκᾶν. <καίτοι γ' ἐμοὶ>  
κάνταῦθα κακὸν ἔνεστιν ἐπεικῶς [μέγα].*

Onesimus confronts a dilemma. If he shows Charisius the ring, the evidence of his guilt, the result may be disastrous to

him: Charisius may be reconciled with Pamphila and visit severe punishment on his slave, who shares the secret (*συνειδότα*, v. 210). The other alternative would be to return the ring to Syrisus—a course which Onesimus in v. 219 pronounces absurd. He is sorry that he ever told his master about Pamphila (v. 205), but that act cannot be recalled. It has been generally assumed that Onesimus resolves in vv. 210f., as he does in v. 356, to avoid stirring up trouble in the future; but not only does the papyrus not favor Wilamowitz' *φυλάξομαι*, according to Körte, but the sentiment of v. 212 and the phrasing of v. 211 seem to point the other way. The only resource left to Onesimus is to devise some additional complication, though he recognizes the fact that this course also is not free from risk. While he is wavering, undecided, Habrotonon appears, and between them they finally work up the *ἑτερόν τι κύημα*. The personal pronoun *ἐμοί* is needed to complete the thought of v. 212, for Onesimus is thinking of only his own risk. *ἔχει* Eitrem, *μέγα* Wilamowitz, supported by the traces in the papyrus.

215. *ἐρᾶσθα* < *προσεδόκων* >, cf. Anax. 22, l. 29 K. *οἱ δ' ἐρᾶσθαι προσδοκῶντες*. Von Arnim proposed *μὲν ἐδόκουν*, but in contrast with Charisius' hatred is rather the expectation which Habrotonon had cherished than her belief.

251. *αἶ, δύσμορ', εἴ < π' >· εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστί σου,*  
*τρεφόμενον ὄψει τοῦτον ἐν δούλου μέρει;*  
*κοῦκ ἂν δικαίως ἀποθάνοις;*

*εἴτ'* Lefebvre, but I suspect a *π*. *εἰπέ* would better represent Habrotonon's indignant question than the more deliberate *εἶτα*.

260. *Ταυροπο* < *λίους* · *π* > *αἰσὶν γὰρ ἔψαλλον κόραις*  
*αὕτη θ' [ὁμοῦ συν]έπαιζ < ε > ν· οὐδ' ἐγὼ τότε—*  
*οὐπω γὰρ ἄνδρ' ᾔδειν τί ἐστί, καὶ μάλα*  
*μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην—* Ones.: *τὴν δὲ παῖδ' ἦτις [ποτ'] ἦν*  
*οἶσθας*; Hab.: *πυθοίμην ἄν, κτέ.*

Körte reports, in v. 260, *· αἰσινγαρ* and reads *αἰσιν γάρ*, though this does not wholly fill the space and though the old dative form is without parallel in Menander. But not only is the form objectionable, the whole sentence is intolerably awkward. For *παισὶν κόραις* cf. Arist. Lys. 595 *παῖδα κόρην γεγάμηκεν* and Theophilus II, 12 Kock *παιδὸς κόρης (ἐρῶν)*.

In v. 261 there should be a pronoun referring to the girl, of whom Habrotonon is about to relate the story. "I was playing the lyre for the girls and this girl was one of the merry-makers". It is hard to see how the music-girl, who was hired to play the psalter for the dance, could herself have participated in the dance. αὐτῇ and the third person seem necessary. Then Habrotonon, before coming to the point of her story, makes a digression to explain why her suspicions were not aroused at the time—she was innocent, then, of all thought of evil. Onesimus recalls her to her subject by his impatient question. Körte's ποτὲ gives precisely the right tone. The poet brings in admirably, and for a distinct purpose, this incidental allusion to Habrotonon's girlish innocence.

268, αὐτῇ 'στιν τυχόν. It is the possibility of the *identity* of the girl whom Habrotonon had seen and the girl who took the ring from Charisius (v. 236) that concerns Onesimus.

303. ἐὰν δ' οἰκείον ᾗ  
αὐτῇ τὸ πρῶγμ', <εὖ ἴσθ', ἐπεί> ξει φερόμενος  
ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον.

The papyrus gives εὐθὺς ἤξει, one syllable short. Since Hense cited the very similar expression in Lyc. c. Leocrat. 59, ἤξει δ' ἴσως ἐπ' ἐκείνον τὸν λόγον φερόμενος, it has been felt that ἤξει is not likely to be corrupt, and one-syllable words, like μάλ', Hense and Van Herwerden, and οἷδ' Richards, have been suggested. But the expression here is likely to have been somewhat more picturesque than the orator's phrase, and a closer parallel is found, as to language, thought, and situation, in Eur., Ion 327, where Creusa says to Ion:

οὐδ' ἤξας εἰς ἄρευναν ἐξευρεῖν γονάς;

328. Punctuate: ἐὰν δὲ μηκέτι ζητῇς ἐκείνην ἐξεπίτηδες, ἀλλ' ἴσως, παρακρουσαμένη με.

- Q<sup>1</sup>. Onesimus (continuing): . . [νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλ]λω! . . .  
X[αιρέστρ]αθ'· ἦδε τὸ μετὰ τα <ὑτα "δεῖ σ'," ἔφη>,  
"ὅπως [δια]μενεῖς ὦν Χαρισίῳ [τὸ πᾶν],  
οἷός περ (ῆ)σθα, πιστός." οὐ γάρ ἐσ <τί τοι>  
5. ἐταιρίδιον τοῦτ' οὐδὲ τὸ τυχόν <ὅ τι ποεῖ>.  
σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ παιδάριον ἐ<ξηύρηκέ σοι>.  
ἐλευθερο <ὑ>. πάξ! μὴ βλέπ' εἰ <ε τὴν γῆν ἔχων>.



καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν κατὰ μόν<ας Χαρίσιον>,  
τὸν φίλτατον καὶ τὸν γλυκύτατ<ον παῖδά σου>,  
<λαβὼν . . ><sup>1</sup>

456 (441). τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικὸς ἐστὶ σου'  
<τὸ σὸν> γάρ, οὐκ ἀλλότριον.

If we adopt Körte's τέκνον, the γάρ is noticeably far from the beginning of the sentence. Körte estimates the lacuna at about five letters. For the proposed restoration cf. v. 459 ναί, καὶ σὸν γ' ὁμοίως.

528 (512): Smic.: σύ μοι χολὴν  
[κ]ινεῖς παθαινομένη. σὺ γὰρ σφόδρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι  
<τέρας> ε λέγει νῦν. Soph.: οἶδ' ἐ[γωγ'], εὖ ἴσθ', ὅτι  
<τέρας'> ἀ<μφ>ότερα συνῆκε. Smic.: πάνδεινον λέγεις.

For τέρας λέγειν cf. Plat., Hipp. mai. 283 c, τέρας λέγεις καὶ θαυμαστόν. σὺ γὰρ σφόδρα cannot introduce a question, as Nicole's conjecture οὗτος would require. In v. 531 . . . . . ατεστερα Körte. In her answer Sophrona refers to the words of Onesimus in v. 502, τέραςιν ὅμοια πεντάμηνα παιδία ἐκτρέφομεν. The "prodigies" which Onesimus has correctly interpreted are of course the two nothoi, which he has proved to be one.

#### NOTES ON THE HEROS.

At the bottom of A<sup>1</sup> the first part of eight consecutive verses (8-17) is broken away in the papyrus. Before and after the break the text is perfectly sound. The restoration of these verses is not of great importance so far as the plot of the Heros is concerned, but it is important that whatever context we supply in this portion of the conversation of the two slaves, Geta and Davus, should not be repugnant to the characters which the poet desired to give them. And this seems to me to be true of the restorations which Van Leeuwen has printed in his text.

The leading characteristics of the two slaves are sufficiently outlined in the forty odd good verses which remain. Davus is painfully serious and so absorbed in his woe that he barely

<sup>1</sup> 1. Robert.—2. Χαίρεστραβ' Sudhaus, ταῦτα Leo.—3. διαμενεῖς Ellis.—4. ἦσθα Von Arnim, οἶσθα pap.—6. εκω pap. Körte, κω being very uncertain.—. ἐλεύθερος pap.—8. κατὰ μόνας Van Herwerden.

notices the light badinage of Geta. And of course, in his infatuation for Plangon, he exaggerates the difficulties of the situation. These seem to be merely: (1) that Plangon, a free-born girl, is placed in the position of a quasi slave<sup>1</sup> on account of her dead father's unpaid debts and has to do light housework for Davus' mistress; and (2) that Davus' master, who has given a provisional consent to his marriage with the girl, is absent on a trip to Lemnus (vv. 45 f.) and so has not yet asked for the approval of Plangon's brother to the match. But Davus rehearses these trivial troubles with a tragic pathos<sup>2</sup> that evokes the ridicule of Geta, as had the exaggerated exhibition of grief in the opening lines. Geta, besides being a wag, is a cynic on the subject of the tender passion. When Davus acknowledges that he is in love, Geta suggests (vv. 18 f.) that the real trouble is over-feeding, and somewhere in this first scene (see below) he makes an even more brutal reply (fr. 345 K., recognized by Leo and Legrand).

From these indications we are able to recognize clearly enough the characteristics of these slaves, both familiar types. And, if I am able to catch the drift of the last eight lines on A<sup>2</sup> in their sadly mutilated condition, the sarcastic humor of Geta runs on and continues to interrupt the exposition of the present situation which Davus is trying to give. The following is offered with diffidence, but seems to me to represent the probable course of the conversation.<sup>3</sup>

Da.: ὑπέσχηται τ' ἐμ[ο]ῖ σ[υνοικεῖν]  
αὐτήν, διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν.] <Ge.: πῶς ἄρ' εἶ>

<sup>1</sup> This is the meaning of ὁρῶν | συντρεφομένην, ἄκακον, κατ' ἐμαντόν in v. 19: "when I see a girl, innocent thing, kept in my station", which Van Leeuwen has misunderstood. Van Leeuwen sets up the contrast κατ' ἐμαντόν and ὑπὲρ ἐμαντόν, cf. Epitr. 104. But συντρεφομένην κατ' ἐμαντόν = ὡς δούλην; cf. the familiar phrases κατ' ἀνθρώπον, κατὰ σε, κηδεύσαι καθ' ἐαυτόν, Aesch., Prom. 890, etc. So Geta understands Davus, for he asks in v. 20 δούλη 'στίν; and the answer is οὕτως, ἥσυχῃ, τρόπον τινά.

<sup>2</sup> The laughter of Geta in v. 38 is explained by the contrast between the words of Davus and the emotion with which he speaks them.

<sup>3</sup> A change of speakers is indicated by the paragraphus in vv. 44, 48, by the double point without the paragraphus in v. 49. I have assumed a break in v. 45 also; but it is of course possible that Davus resumes at the beginning of the verse. Certainly it is he who tells of the absence of his master Laches.

45. <πενθη>ρός; Da.: ἀποδημεῖ τρ[ιταῖος ἐπὶ τινα]  
 πρᾶξιν ἰδ[ία]ν εἰς Λῆμ[νον]. <ἦκοι γ' ἀσφαλῶς>!  
 Ge.: ἐχόμεθα τῆς αὐτῆς <ἐπιθυμίας· πάλιν>  
 σφύζοιτο! Da.: χρηστὸν <τοῖς θεοῖς θῦσαι· τάχ' ἂν>  
 ὀνησις εἴη. Ge.: πολὺ π<ρεπόντως καὶ καλῶς>  
 50. φρονεῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ κα<ὶ πένης ὦν σφόδρ' ἂν ἐρῶν>  
 θύσαιμ' ἄλις, νῆ τὸν Πο[σειδῶ], <τοῖς θεοῖς>!

Here Geta apparently calls a woodgatherer to bring wood for the proposed sacrifice. Fr. 345 K. may have come immediately after, somewhat as follows:

ὦ ξυλοφόρ', <εἰς θυσίαν σὺ δεῦρο φέρε ταχὺ>  
 <πλῆθος ξύλων.> Da.: οὐπάποτ' ἡράσθης, Γέτα;  
 Ge.: οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην.

ἐμοὶ συνοικεῖν 43, πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν 44 Lefebvre; τριταῖος ἐπὶ τινα 45, ἰδίαν εἰς Λῆμνον 46 Crönert; ἄλις νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ 51 Wilamowitz. The first part of v. 45 is very difficult. Lefebvre reports τελεμερος, while Körte, who regards λ also as certain, can make nothing of the other letters. Since a remark by Geta breaks the narrative of Davus, and the adjective in -ρος can hardly belong to the following, πενθηρός, luctuosus, suggests itself as at least worth testing. It is cited by Herodian and Draco as used by Anaxilas (fr. 34, p. 274 K.) of a black mourning garment.

Let us now return to the broken lines 8-17. For their restoration, at least in substance, there are several certain clues, apart from the all-important one of the character of Geta. In 15b we have: Ge. τί σὺ λέγεις; ἐρᾷς; Da. ἐρῶ. Therefore 15a must contain Davus' admission of his passion, as all critics have seen. 14b, Da. μὴ καταρῶ, πρὸς [τῶν] θεῶν, implies just as clearly a curse 14a, though the fact has been overlooked. The indications in the ends of vv. 8-13 are not so clear, but if we observe the character of Geta and what has preceded we can supply a consistent context. Now in the first lines Geta, seeing the violent manifestations of grief on the part of Davus—beating the head, pulling out hair, groans—draws the natural conclusion that he has committed some enormous offense and is in dread of condign punishment. He is confirmed in this assumption when Davus, in answer to the question τί στένεις, responds with a wail, οἴμοι. Geta's conclusion is: τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὃ πονηρὲ σὺ.<sup>1</sup> He accordingly,

<sup>1</sup> So to be punctuated, and not as a question (as Leo and Van Leeuwen).

following up this idea, suggests that, besides the physical punishment, Davus is likely to have his little hoard of money taken from him and requests that it be given to him for safe-keeping. The preserved verse-ends show that Davus does not fall in with this suggestion, that Geta becomes angry and finally lets out a curse, which has the effect of bringing Davus to his declaration in v. 15.

- Ge.: εἴτ' οὐκ ἔχρην κερμάτιον, εἰ συνηγμένον  
[σοὶ τυγχάν]ει τι, τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τέως,  
<μὴ πλείον' ἔλκῃς ἐπὶ> σεαυτὸν πράγματα;  
10. <οὐ φῆς σύ γ'; εἰκότως σ>υνάχθομαί γέ σοι'  
<ἀεὶ γὰρ εἰ φθονε>ρ<ός>. Da.: σύ, μὰ Δί', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι  
<ληρεῖς' κακῶ γὰρ ἐμπ>έπληγμαι πράγματι,  
<λύπη τε δεινὴ πάνυ δι>έφθαρμαι, Γέτα.  
<Ge.: κάκιστ' ἀπόλοιο—>. Da.: μὴ καταρῶ, πρὸς [τῶν] θεῶν,  
15. [βέλτιστ', ἐρῶντι.] Ge.: τί σὺ λέγεις; ἐρᾷς; Da.: ἐρᾷ.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>8. So Körte.—12. ληρεῖς and ἐμπέπληγμαι Croiset.—15. βέλτιστ', ἐρῶντι Van Leeuwen. The number of lost letters indicated by Lefebvre in these line is: 9, 15; 10, 15; 11, 15 to >ρ<; 12, 16; 13, 16; 14, 16; 15, 16.

### III.—APHRODITE AND THE DIONE MYTH.

The following investigation into the psychology of early Greek religion will undertake to determine why<sup>1</sup> the Greeks, when introducing the Oriental Aphrodite into their own pantheon and receiving her as their own, thought of her as a daughter of Dione. There operated here a complex of conceptions and a multitude of emotions, including both intuition and induction, whose logic it will be our purpose to analyze.

When the Greeks welcomed the great goddess of the East, whose life-creating animus pervaded the whole Universe,

καὶ κρατέεις τρισσῶν μοιρῶν, γεννᾷς δὲ τὰ πάντα,  
 ὅσσα τ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔστι καὶ ἐν γαίῃ πολυκάρπῳ  
 ἐν πόντῳ τε βυθῷ,<sup>2</sup>

the choice of Dione from among the autochthonous Greek divinities, as mother of Aphrodite, brought the latter goddess into the closest association with the body of Greek beliefs, by reason of Dione's great antiquity.<sup>3</sup> Yet under this comparatively obvious determining factor, there lay at least two other, deeper fundamental reasons; viz., the common association of Aphrodite and Dione with the great facts of *Life* and *Fertility*, and the common identification of these two goddesses with the creating element of *Moisture* in the organic universe.<sup>4</sup> The latter fact

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe: Gr. Myth. u. Relgsgesch., p. 1353, n. 2; Pauly-Wissowa: Real-Encycl. "Aphrodite", p. 2769; Preller-Robert: Gr. Myth.<sup>4</sup>, p. 125, n. 2; Farnell: Cults, ii 621. "As Zeus was given her for a father, it is not easy to explain why Dione rather than Hera was selected as her adoptive mother, etc."

<sup>2</sup> Orphic h. lv 5 seq.; cf. Plaut., Mercator, scaena sup., Act. 4, sub fin.; Cornutus, De Nat. Deor., c. 24; Lucret., De Rer. Nat. i, proem; Hom., h. iv 1-5; Preller-Robert<sup>4</sup>, p. 354, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cl. Rev. xx, 1906, pp. 365, 416, Cook; Leaf: Iliad, E. 370, n.

<sup>4</sup> The commonly accepted view regarding Dione, as an *Earth-goddess*, is reflected in Cl. Rev. xvii, 1903, p. 177 f., Cook; Farnell: Cults, i 39; Jebb: Soph. Trach., n. 1166, App., p. 202; Daremberg et Saglio: Dict. des Ant. Gr. et Rom., s. v. Dione.



made the Greek myth analogous<sup>1</sup> to the more ancient tradition of Aphrodite's birth from the sea; the natural close association in thought of Water and Life, and the prevalent ancient belief in a *Lebenswasser*<sup>2</sup> constitute the common inspiring motive of both of these myths. They possessed a similar content; that of Hesiod the Boeotian being more simple and direct—a clearer reversion to the primitive intuition of an early race that recognized the aquatic origin of life; that of Homer expressing the same dogma, but in the more elusive terms of a crystallized mythology. It seems, finally, altogether reasonable, too, to yield to the fascination of a correlation of mythology and philosophy, and to conclude that the philosophy of this myth that made Aphrodite daughter of the "august"<sup>3</sup> Dione, is not far removed, in spirit, from the fancy of the earliest philosophy that *ἕδωρ* is the great ἀρχή of all.

Aphrodite in Homer is essentially a Greek goddess, who has become thoroughly naturalized,<sup>4</sup> although her Oriental origin is not ignored. Indeed, the Homeric terms, *Κύπρις* and *Κυθίρεια*, are but a reflection of a commonly accepted Greek belief,<sup>5</sup> regarding the track of her voyage from the East, and the mode of introduction of her cult into Greece. However, in the representation of her in the Greek epic, we recognize an evolution far beyond the primitive religious faith that created or accepted her,—when, first a religious value, associated with an elemental instinct of procreation and of race-preservation, and springing from a sense of wonder at the phenomenon of birth was reaching definition.<sup>6</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Preller-Robert,<sup>4</sup> p. 352, "So ist gleich die Dichtung von der Geburt u. Abkunft dieser Göttin eine doppelte, principiell verschiedene" calls attention to the incompatibility of the two myths of Homer and of Hesiod, since the Homeric account as clearly connects the goddess with Greek traditions, as the Hesiodic does with Oriental. Eust., II. v 370 is probably in error.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wünsche: *Sagen vom Lebensbaum u. Lebenswasser*, 1905, p. 71 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bruchmann-Roscher: *Epitheta Deorum*, Suppl. Lex., s. v. *Διώνη*.

<sup>4</sup> Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, Γ 374, Ε 131, 312, 348, 362, 428, 820, Ξ 193, 224, Υ 105, Φ 416, Ψ 185, θ 308; Hom., h. ii 17, iv 81, 107, 191.

Aphrodite, an Olympian, Γ 407, Ξ 224, Υ 40, v 73; Hom., h. vi 13; cf. Paus. iii 12, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Her. i 105, i 131; Paus. i 14, 7, iii 23, 1, iii 17, 5, viii 53, 7; cf. Paus. viii 24, 6, vii 26, 7.

<sup>6</sup> There is, however, little trace in Homer of Aphrodite as personification of a natural force; see Ε 429, v 74; cf. Gruppe 1365; see Farnell: *The Evolution of Religion*, pp. 89, 105; Brinton: *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 193.

the Greek epic she had acquired a well-defined personality,<sup>1</sup> (mainly aesthetic in character) which had many elements of a later development, the product of Greek refinement in general and of the poet's imagination in particular. If the two passages in the 5th Iliad and in the 8th Odyssey do not belong to the original nuclei of the poems but are comparatively late additions,<sup>2</sup> the Greek atmosphere about Aphrodite is all the more pronounced. In the former the Cyprian<sup>3</sup> goddess, wounded by Diomedes, flees to Olympus, to her Dione-mother; in the latter (conversely) the Olympian divinity, after the memorable Ares-intrigue, retires to *Cyprus*, as the *locus* of her chief cult and her home. This Graeco-Oriental goddess, whose Oriental character and origin were more clearly marked or suggested in contemporary worship,<sup>4</sup>—in Cyprus, in Delos, in Cythera, in Laconia, in Arkadia, in Attica, in Boeotia, and, perhaps, in Corinth, Argos and Elis,—the poet represents as daughter of Zeus and Dione, in order, probably, to admit her—following a popular impulse—“into the Hellenic pantheon by a sort of legal adoption”,<sup>5</sup> and legitimize her functioning among the Greeks. Yet even admitting this, the problem remains unsolved,—of the underlying reason for the particular choice of Dione, and of the significance or suggestions attaching to that divinity, that made Aphrodite's affiliation with her, as daughter, a perfectly natural one and not an arbitrary correlation. For this “Homeric” formula, dictated by the *Zeit-Geist*, is but the literary deposit of an earlier, genuine religious unrest and of a popular feeling concerned with the grave

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., φιλομειδής, χρυσή, ἑλικοβλέφαρος, ἰοστέφανος, εὐστέφανος, δια, γλυκυμειλίχος, αἰδοίη, etc.; cf. Γ 54, Ξ 214, also Aphrodite's relations with Hebe, Charites, Horae, Eros, Ares and Hephaistos,—symbolizing love, beauty, youth.

<sup>2</sup> Leaf: Iliad, vol. i, p. 193 and p. 217, n. on 330.

<sup>3</sup> Κύπρις, E 330, 422, 458, 760, 883, θ 363; Hom., h. vi 1, x 5, iv 2, 58, 59, 292; Κυθήρεια, σ 193, θ 288; Hom., h. iv 6, 175, 287, vi 18, x 1; cf. O 432; cf. Enmann: Kyprios, 21; Leaf: Iliad, E 330, n; Tümpel, in Pauly-Wissowa, “Aphrodite”, p. 2769; Preller-Robert<sup>4</sup>, p. 346.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. i 14, 7; Tac. h., ii 3; Hom., A 20; Strab. xiv, c. 6, p. 683; Paus. ix 40, 3; Plut., Thes., 18, 21; Callim., Del. 307; Il. Σ 590; Paus. viii 16, 3; Paus. iii 23, 1; Hom., O 432; Paus. iii 17, 5; Paus. viii 5, 2, viii 53, 7; Paus. i 14, 7; Paus. ix 16, 3; Paus. ii 37, 2; Athenaeus 573 C-D, lib. xiii; Paus. ii 19, 6; Paus. v 13, 7; Hom., B. 104; cf. Tascher: Les cultes ioniens en Attique.

<sup>5</sup> Farnell: Cults, ii 621.

question of attaching the Oriental goddess to Greek beliefs. It is inconceivable that in a matter of so much moment to Greek religious experience, mere chance should have played the leading rôle, or that this association should have rested upon accidentals or fanciful relations. It is *a priori* unreasonable to suppose that the great Oriental goddess, with a host of traditions and a wealth of associations that belonged distinctly to her, should have been allied to any member of a foreign polytheism who did not possess a somewhat similar religious value or sacred character.

Before defining the character of Dione, in general, or in its particular bearings upon the Aphrodite myth, some other considerations must be taken into account for their relation to this problem. From the East there came to Greek shores, traditions of Aphrodite's birth from the sea, which probably were current in the "Homeric" age and before; the great Heavenly goddess of the East, with manifold relations to sky, earth, underworld and sea, was *sprung* from the *moist* element; Syrian<sup>1</sup> and Phoenician<sup>2</sup> legends of such an origin survived to a later period, while, very anciently, festivals, reminding of her sea-birth, were celebrated on the island of Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> The conception of such an origin developed naturally among people, located as were the Cyprians and Phoenicians. "In the latest stage of Phoenician religion", indeed, "when all deities were habitually thought of as heavenly or astral beings, the holiest sanctuaries were still those of the primitive fountains and river-gods, and both ritual and legend continued to bear witness to the *original* character of these deities".<sup>4</sup> It was this goddess who was the prototype of

<sup>1</sup> Hyg., f., p. 197 Schm. (p. 148 Bunte); Luc. Ampel., Lib. Mem. ii 12 (Woelfflin); Nig. Fig. c. Schol. Germ., p. 81, 20 seq. et p. 145, 9 seq.; Dositheus, *ixθύες*; cf. Diod. S. ii 4, 2; Xen., Anab. i 4, 9; Luc., De Dea Syr., 14. It seems a rational assumption that these passages represent an original Oriental tradition, as old as the cult of Aphrodite and as ancient as her ritual, connecting her with water and the sacred fish.

<sup>2</sup> Nonn., Dionys. xli 98 seq., 146; Phil. Bybl., F. H. G. iii 569, 25; cf. Movers: Phönizier, Ersch-Grubersche Real-Encycl., p. 388, n. 42, 43 Roscher: Lex., "Aphrodite", p. 393-394. This seems a survival and a reflection of a primitive Phoenician legend.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Al., Protr., 2. 14, p. 13 P (ii 38, p. 33 P.); Arnob., Adv. Nat. v 19 Jul. Firm. Mat., De Err. Prof. Rel., 10; cf. Martin P. Nilsson: Gr. Feste, 1906, p. 365; Alb. Dieterich: Mutter Erde, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, W. Robertson: Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, p. 107 (Ed., 1894); cf. Barton, Geo. Aaron: A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social

the Homeric Aphrodite, and the Homeric legend of Aphrodite's descent from Dione was but a translation into the terminology of Greek mythology,—of an earlier myth, the validity and significance of which the Greek mind was probably not slow to appreciate. At any rate, this myth of her sea-birth certainly gained a wonderful hold upon the Greek imagination.

Hesiod<sup>1</sup> records the momentous event of Aphrodite's birth from the sea,—a phenomenon that seems to us to bid defiance to natural laws and, at first blush, seems but a weird creation of a reckless imagination, that, within the realms of mythology, seemed to love such extravagances.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the cause of this fancy, at any rate Aphrodite's affiliation with the sea and with moisture in general was, in the historic period, writ large in Greek religion and life; in time, through poetry, logical abstractions, and social religious tendencies, Aphrodite of the sea, became goddess of fair winds, protectress of harbors, patroness of voyages, mistress of ships, river-goddess, goddess of rains and friend of sea-life, in general, which was dedicated to her.<sup>3</sup> All of this represents the power of the impression that one aspect<sup>4</sup> of the Oriental divinity made upon the Greek mind, in which it received such a wide application. Moreover, Aphrodite's relations with Poseidon<sup>5</sup> were strongly marked in Greek worship, and whatever motives

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and Religious, p. 86. "Ishtar was originally a water-goddess, the divinity of some never failing spring or springs and . . . some sacred tree to which the spring gave life represented her son." Cf. Movers: *Phönizier*, Ersch-Gruber. *Real-Encycl.*, p. 400, n. 61.

<sup>1</sup> Hes., Th. 173 seq.; Hom., h. vi.

<sup>2</sup> S. Clem. Rom., hom. v, c. 12, § 142, p. 181 Migne); cf. Zeller: *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, 1892, p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i 1, 3, C. I. G. 4443;—Paus. ii 34, 11, Emped. (Stein) 203–205, Serv., ad Aen. i 720;—Athenaeus 675 F., A. P. ix 143, 144;—C. I. Gr. ii 793 b. 18, 802 b. 35, 789 b. 80, 791, 79, Eur., Med. 527;—Hesych., Aphrodite *Λαδωγενής* (cf. Paus. viii 25, 1);—Tertull., *Apol.*, 23;—Plut., *De Sollert. Anim.*, ii 983 F; Plaut., *Rud.* ii 1, 16=305; Lucian, *De Dea Syr.*, §§ 45, 46; Luc. Ampel., *Lib. Mem.* ii 12; cf., too, titles of Aphrodite, in Bruchmann-Roscher: *Epitheta Deorum*, Lex., Suppl.

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe, 1351, n. 2; Roscher, 401, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Gardner and Poole: *Cat. Grk. Coins*, Br. Mus. (Thessaly vol., p. 132, Pl. xxiii 13, p. 175); Paus. ii 38, 1, viii 13, 2, vii 21, 10, vii 24, 2; Schol., *Pind. O.* vii 24; Plut. ii 146 D, 164 D (vii Sap. Conv.), Qu. Gr. 44; C. I. G. 4443; Athenae. vi 253 E; *Rev. Arch.*, 1881, p. 238; Latyshev: *Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux. Gr. et Lat.* ii 25; C. I. G. 7390; Serv., *Verg.*, Aen. i 570, and, perhaps, Hom. *θ* 345.

interfered with a similar intimate association in cult, of Aphrodite with Dione,<sup>1</sup> did not obtain in this case; the development of the Aphrodite-Poseidon worship, which was wide-spread, bespeaks the deep impression that existed in the Greek consciousness, of a community of interests and of points of contact between these two. Aphrodite's birth from the sea became the leading and the commonly accepted version of her origin.<sup>2</sup> While her sea-birth seems to have figured but slightly in cult,<sup>3</sup> a conservative religious reserve may have accounted for this.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, it was a cherished Greek belief that received the very widest currency in literature and became a favorite art-motive;<sup>5</sup> the undeniable power of its appeal is proved by the fact that long after the original operating cause for such a fiction had probably become for many obscure,—in times when Aphrodite was variously regarded as a real vital divinity, as a lovely metaphor, as a cold abstraction,—this picturesque conception of the travail of the waves from which arose Aphrodite Anadyomene still survived, as dominant as of old.

It is very significant that there were no *ancient* Greek traditions, representing Aphrodite as earth-born, or connecting her with parents that were distinctly earth-divinities. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that her complex character admitted of a various development whereby in Attica<sup>6</sup> the goddess became an earth-divinity, while in Sparta<sup>7</sup> she was worshipped as the armed Heavenly-goddess, and in Argolis<sup>8</sup> had a cult connecting her with the sea. The minor myths of Aphrodite's

<sup>1</sup> See Farnell: Cults, ii 621 a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e. g., Hes., Th. 188 seq.; Hom., h. vi 3-4; Orph. h. lv 2; Anacreon, 53. 30 seq.; Plat., Krat., 406 C; Bion, Id. 9 (ζ'), 1; Plut., qu. conv. v 10, 4, ii 685 F; Himer., Or. i 20, Ecl. 18; Nonn., D. xiii 458, xxxv 190; A. P. ix 386, 3; Opp., Kyn. i 33; Procl., Plat. Krat., p. 116-117; Clem. Al., Protr. ii 38, p. 33 P. (2. 14, p. 13 P.); Clem. Rom., hom. v 13, p. 182; Hesych., *Λαδωγενής*; Anonym. Laur., Studemund: An. Varia i 269; C. I. G., 5956; Plaut., Rud. iii 3, 42=704; Catull. 36, 11; Cic., De Nat. D. iii 23, 59; Ampel., Lib. Mem., 9, 9; Lucan, 8, 458; Tac., H. ii 3; Macrobi., Sat. i 8, 7; Apul., Met. iv 28; Pervig. Ven. 7; Pauli Fest. 52, Cytherea.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell: Cults, ii 636.

<sup>4</sup> The hint of Himerius is, at least, suggestive; Himer., Ecl. 18, 2:

τὰς δὲ ὠδῖνας ταύτας αἰτινὲς ποτε  
εἰσὶ, μυστικοὶ λόγοι κρύπτειν  
κελεύουσι.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. v 11, 8; ii 1, 7-8 (national in importance); see Gruppe, 1348, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. i 19, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. iii 15, 10; iii 17, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. ii 34, 11.



birth, that made her daughter of Kronos and Euonyme,<sup>1</sup> child of Caelus and Dies,<sup>2</sup> or the offspring of Aphros and Astynome<sup>3</sup>—were all comparatively late, and, seemingly resting upon motives

<sup>1</sup> Aphrodite's correlation with the Moirae may have rested upon several suggestions, common to the two circles of the Aphrodite and the Moirae myths (Annali dell' Instituto di Corr. Archeol., vol. xli, 1869, C. L. Visconti; Wachsmuth: Die Stadt Athen, i 412). At any rate, such an association took place in Attica, and evidently very early (Paus. i 19, 2). The Moirae were regarded as earth divinities, and Aphrodite's association with them affected even the ancient myth of her sea-birth, inasmuch as, in common with the Moirae and the Erinyes, she came to be regarded as offspring of Kronos and Euonyme (Epim., Schol., Soph. O. C. 42; Schol., Tzet., Lyk. 406; F. H. G. i 419, 9, Istros, [Euonyme=Gé]). Moreover, as Euonymus seems to have been the name of the eponymous hero of an Attic deme (Steph. Byz.; Pauly-Wissowa: Real-Encycl., art. *Δῆμοι*, p. 65), it seems more than likely that we have in this tradition of Aphrodite's birth, a genealogical table, seeking to establish a closer affiliation of Aphrodite with the Attic soil.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., De Nat. D. iii 23, 59; Ampel., Lib. Mem., 9, 9; Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, 89. Hermes and Aphrodite were, in various relations, very widely associated in cult and festival, and this version of the goddess' birth is at once the result of, as it is also further evidence of *that* intimate union, for the same parents had been attributed to Hermes as well. (Cic., De Nat. D. iii 22, 56; Serv., ad Aen. i 297, iv 577; Ampel., 9, 5, etc.). "Natürlich sind beide Genealogien nicht unabhängig von einander entstanden". (Gruppe, 1331, n. 2). Cicero locates the cult of "Venus Prima, Caelo et Die nata" at Elis, where "the goddess stands with one foot on a tortoise" (Paus. vi 25, 1) which was one of the several symbols the two divinities had in common. It is *a priori* far more likely that for this matter of relationship, the Aphrodite mythology was indebted to the Hermes legends than that the reverse process should have taken place; however, this form of the myth, neglecting primary for secondary considerations, represents a later refinement of poetry and aesthetics, naturally enough associated with the "Heavenly" goddess, but foreign to the original character and significance of the earlier myth of Aphrodite's sea-birth.

<sup>3</sup> This legend (Io. Ant., F. H. G. iv 541, 542, 4, 4; Chron. Pasch., tom. i, p. 66, Bonn, 1832; Ap. Rhod. ii 392 et ii 1231, and Schol.; Pherecydes, F. H. G. i 70), which Tümpel (Phil., 1890, N. F. iii, p. 115) attaches to Thessaly, is an awkward combination that includes sea and Oriental suggestions (cf. Movers: Die Phönizier, vol. i, p. 636 [Astronome and Astynome=Astarte; Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, 91: "auch sonst sind solche Namensentstellungen von Astarte, um ihr eine griechische Bedeutung abzugewinnen, nicht selten"]. See, also, Movers: Phönizier, Ersch-Grubersche Real-Encycl., p. 388, 43). Her sea-origin and identity with Astarte are obviously in the background of this later revelation. (Cf., too, Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, p. 89; Cornutus, De Nat. Deor., c. 24, §199, on *φιλύρα*, and Apollod. i 2, 4).

of local interest and value, whether associating the goddess with earth, sky or sea, did not enter into vital competition with the *great* myth of her sea-birth, that was based upon reasons of a profound and elemental import.

The Homeric representation of Aphrodite as daughter of Zeus and Dione, alone possessed anything like the vitality of this other myth, and alone proved its rival and shared its importance.<sup>1</sup> If we can trust the absence of literary and archaeological evidence, Aphrodite was not united with Dione in public worship, in spite of the fact that the cult of the latter<sup>2</sup> was widely accepted; nevertheless, the literature of a later age recognized the kinship and the natural bond that existed between their characters; indeed the idea struck its roots deep in the literary imagination, with the result that there was eventually a complete assimilation<sup>3</sup> of these two divinities. Aphrodite and Dione clearly had much in common. Whatever other motives may have played an incidental part in the rapprochement of Aphrodite and Dione, it seems incredible that the filial relationship should have, in the beginnings of the myth, rested upon any but the most vital inherent principles, bringing it in line with explicit Oriental traditions and positive Greek beliefs. Aphrodite's naturalization, such as we find in Homer, was undoubtedly the result of a long racial, religious and artistic reflection. But Oriental traditions of her sea-birth, renewed in the Theogony of Hesiod, and in Greek literature, reinforced in Greek art, intellectually justified also (as we shall see) by Greek scientific speculation, represent a com-

<sup>1</sup> Hom., E. 370, 381; Eur., Hel. 1098; Theocr. xvii 36; Apollod. i 3, 1; Cic., De Nat. Deor. iii 23, 59; Ampel., Lib. Mem., 9, 9; Hyg., f., pr. 30 (Bunte); Ael., De Nat. An. x 1; Cornut., De Nat. Deor., c. 24; Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, 89; Mon. Ant. d. Acc. d. Lincolni vi, 1896, 275.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. G. 4366 m.; Eph. Arch., 1896, no. 52; Steph. Byz., Διονία πόλις; Gardner and Poole: Catal. Grk. Coins (Thessaly vol.), pp. 55, 89, 90, 91, 111, 133, 144; Carapanos: Dodone et ses ruines; C. I. G. i 324, c. 37 and 65, iii 333, iv<sup>2</sup> 1550 c; Demosth., In Mid., 21, 53, De Fals. Leg., 19, 299, Epist. iv 2; Hyp., pro Eux. iii 35 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e. g., Dione=Aphrodite, Bion. i 93; Theocr. vii 116; Phil. Bybl., F. H. G. iii 569, 25; Ov., F. v 309, ii 461, Am. i 14, 33, Ars Am. iii 3, iii 769; Catull. lvi 6; Stat., Silv. i 1, 84, ii 7, 2, iii 5, 80; Sil. Ital. vii 87, iv 106; Pervig. Ven. 6 et 12; Dracont. Rom. vi 104, etc.; "Dionaeon" Aphrodite: Orph. A. 1331; Theocr. xv 106; Dionys., Perieg. 509 et 853; Nicetae, xii Deorum Epitheta, Studemund: Anecd. Var. i 282; Hor. C. ii 1, 39; Verg., Aen. iii 19, Ecl. ix 47, et Serv.; Suid., s. v. Διοναίη; see Forcellini: Lexicon; Stephanus: Thesaurus; Pape: Wörterbuch der Gr. Eigennamen.

bined force of religion, poetry, art and reason that makes any departure<sup>1</sup> in the case of the Homeric terminology touching her birth most unlikely.

Since any other conception of Aphrodite's birth, taking her outside the circle of water-divinities, would have been alien to important premises in the matter, we have, for this reason alone, a strong hypothesis in favor of the conclusion that—in spite of the maze of multiplex associations which in time gathered about the name and figure of Dione—the primary suggestions of Dione as mother of Aphrodite must have been those of a water-goddess. And indeed, there existed within the Dione folk-lore, a well-recognized affiliation with *moisture*, including rain, sea and stream, and a no less clear association with the idea of *fertility* and *reproduction*. Under these circumstances, because of Dione's great, and perhaps paramount importance to the element of moisture and to the quickening of life that goes with it, which probably represents her primitive significance, Dione seems to satisfy those requirements that the previous considerations seemed to establish as imperative in the matter.

Hesiod (Th. 353) makes the "beloved" Dione an Ocean-nymph, daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, while Dodona (doubtless equivalent to and the same as 'Dione', Clem. Rom., hom. iv 16, 168, v 13, 182) was, also, significantly regarded as an Oceanid nymph (Eust. 335, 46, B. 750; cf., too, Steph. Byz. Δωδώνη [Thrasyb. and Epaphrod., F. H. G. ii 463, 4], E. M. 293, 5 f. [Thrasyb. and Akestod.], Schol., Il. II 233); such testimony appears slightly altered in Apollodorus (i 2, 7; cf. i 9, 16), who classed Dione among the Nereids,<sup>2</sup> daughters of Nereus and Doris. Pherecydes counted her among the Dodonaean nymphs who are identified with the Hyades (Pherecydes, fr. 46, F. H. G. i 84, 46; Schol., Hom., Il. 18, 486; cf. Hyg., f., p. 137, § 182 [Bunte], and astr. ii 21).

Dione's interest in human life and its creation is suggested in the Homeric hymn (in Apol. 93) that puts her in attendance upon

<sup>1</sup> Any such departure would almost certainly have occasioned comment or explanation; absence of such evidence is, at least, suggestive. Only powerful reasons, which seemingly ruled in this case, could have interfered with a belief in descent from the Earth-Mother.

<sup>2</sup> Further sea-reminiscences; Kretschmer: Gr. Vasensinschr., p. 78; Gardner and Poole: Catal. Grk. Coins (Thessaly vol.), pp. 133, 144; Hermes xvi, 1881, p. 87, Robert.

Leto's child-bearing, in company with Rhea, Themis and Amphitrite and others (cf., too, Orph. h. pr. 19), while Plato's discrimination in making Aphrodite *Pandemos* (νεωτέρα) daughter of Zeus and Dione (Plato, Symp., 180 D; cf. Xen., Symp., 8, 9; Artemid., Oneirocr. ii 37; Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, 89), strongly suggests a similar direction of thought. (Cf., also, Procl., Plat. Kratyl., p. 117: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπερκόσμιός ἐστιν καὶ . . . γενέσεως χωρίζει· ἡ δὲ διαιωνία ἐπιτροπεύει πάσας τὰς συστοιχίας καὶ συνθεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τελειοῖ τὰς γεννητικὰς αὐτῶν προόδους διὰ τῆς ὁμονοητικῆς συζεύξεως). Dione's identification with the idea of reproduction may also be gathered from the Dodonaean inscriptions upon *ex voto* tablets, covering a long period of time, in which this phase of the goddess' activities is positively emphasized.<sup>1</sup> The ancient etymologies, too, are not without suggestions that thoughts of moisture and fertility were believed to have played a part in the creation and naming of this goddess. Διώνη: ἡ θεός. . . ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ διδῶ, Διδῶνη καὶ Διώνη, ἡ διδοῦσα τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ἡδονάς. ἡ διεύνη τις ἐστίν, ἡ πρώτη διευνασθεῖσα. ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ διαίνεσθαι καὶ ὑγραίνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑετῶν [E. M. 280, 41 f.], (cf. Io. Laur. Lyd. iv 44, 89 [Chrysippus]; E. G.; to which the related suggestions of Schol., Hes., Th. 353 should be added).<sup>2</sup>

Such a development of the conception of Dione, as well as its genetic aspect, may very easily have rested upon local, physical conditions; Dodona's fertility became a by-word (Hes., fr. 54; Strab. vii 328; Schol., Soph., Trach. 1169; Priscian, Perieg. 444; Verg., G. i 149; suggestive, also, are Lucan vi 426, and Apollod. in Steph. Byz., etym. of Dodona) and the moisture of the land was well-known; the tradition that associated an ancient consultation or perhaps the very founding of the oracle with Deucalion and the flood (Plut., Vit. Pyrrhi; E. M. 293, 5 f. [Thrasymb. and Akestod.]; Schol., Il. II 233) may, perhaps, possess a similar significance; the priests of Zeus may have been named after the

<sup>1</sup> Carapanos: Dodone et ses ruines, Pl. 36, 2 (cf. Collitz: Gr. Dial.-Inscr. ii, p. 105, no. 1565; J. H. S. i 236, Roberts; Dittenberger: Syll. 429), Pl. 38, 4 (cf. J. H. S. i, p. 239, Roberts; Collitz ii, p. 101, no. 1561), Pl. 22, Pl. 35, 1 (J. H. S. i 235, Roberts; Bursian: Jhb., 1887, p. 531), Pl. 37, 4 b, (Collitz ii, p. 109, no. 1568), Pl. 37, 5 b. (Collitz ii, p. 111, no. 1572), Collitz ii, p. 115, no. 1576, C. I. G. ii 5, 1550 c.; cf., too, Paus. ix 25, 8, viii 28, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> That the etymologies, here cited, are probably incorrect does not affect the truth of the statement that thoughts of fertility and moisture were so strongly associated with Διώνη, that her very name was thought to be derived from those ideas.

marshes that existed in the locality (Str. vii 328 [i. e., Apollodorus]; cf. Schol., Il. II 233, Zeus Ναιός and ὑδρηλά), while the great stream Achelōüs<sup>1</sup> figured in the cult-practices of the place.

The "Pelasgic" Zeus at Dodona was, presumably, a chthonian god, originally, and his oak-oracle belonged to the aboriginal religion. Zeus and the Earth-Mother (an ultra-primitive conception) were brought together in "primaeval association" (Paus. x 12, 10). Homer's reference to the male priesthood (cf., too, Callim., h. Del. 284-6) presupposes an earth-cult and implies (or at least readily suggests) a cult of Mother-Earth (Hom., Il. II 233; cf. Soph., Trach. 1166-1168).

That Dione was, in all probability, very anciently associated with Zeus in pre-Homeric worship, follows from the tradition that Herakles learned his fate from the "Peleïades" (Soph., Trach. 169), whose functioning presupposes the establishment of a joint worship of Dione with Zeus. This assumption receives confirmation from the statement of Pausanias (Paus. x 12, 10; cf. Strab. vii fr. 1), that the appointment of the three old women priestesses, the "Peleïades", was antecedent to that of Phemonoë, oldest recorded priestess of Delphi (Paus. x 5, 7, n. Frazer, x 6, 7; cf. E. M. 293, 5 f. and Schol., Il. II 233). Further, it is far more likely that Homer, in his association of Dione and Zeus, as parents of Aphrodite, was following the authority of an established cult, than that, *vice versa*, a mere literary syncretism (whatever other grounds for it) should have occasioned an important innovation in ritual and worship. Strabo's famous statement (vii 329) that in the beginning there were male-priests, but later three old women in attendance, when Dione became σύνναος of Zeus (cf. Eust., Od. 14, 327), does not prove anything about the time of that change, nor that it was "post-Homeric",<sup>2</sup> nor that Strabo thought so, but merely emphasizes what was probably true,—that Dione, however ancient, does represent a development, following the original organization of the Dodonaean worship.

<sup>1</sup> Il. 21, 194 and Schol.; Schol., Il. 24, 615; Hesych. i 657; Hes., Th. 340; Artemid. ii 34; [cf. Acusilaüs, fr. 11 a, F. H. G. i 101, or Didymus, apud Macrob., Sat., 5, 18, 10] Macrob., Sat., 5, 18, 6 (Ephorus, fr. 27, Müller).

<sup>2</sup> For this question, see Preller-Robert<sup>4</sup>, p. 125, n. 2; Gruppe 354, 1; Pauly-Wissowa, "Dione", p. 878; Farnell: Cults, i 39; Eduard Meyer: Forschungen zur alten Gesch., p. 44; Jebb: Soph. Trach., n. 1166, App., p. 202; Roscher: Lex., "Dione", p. 1028; Cl. Rev. xvii, 1903, p. 180 init., Cook.



Διώνη, the "female counterpart"<sup>1</sup> of Zeus, is an expression of some complement to the Dodonaean character of the god himself; such conceptions doubtless developed slowly among the Pelasgic Greeks,<sup>2</sup> and, especially, was the naming of the new goddess who had come into spiritual existence, a matter of slow growth. While "the Homeric poems . . . present us with a group of divinities, not at all regarded as personifications of the various forces and spheres of nature, but as real personages humanly conceived with distinct form and independent action",<sup>3</sup> the gods and goddesses of an earlier age and race, must have been in much closer association with natural phenomena; as the earth was the pre-empted province of an earlier divinity, the conception of Dione seems to have grown out of the religious attitude toward the *moist* elements.

We conclude, therefore, that the cults of Zeus and Mother-Earth, and of Zeus with Dione were both of great antiquity, contemporary<sup>4</sup> pre-Homeric cults that developed *pari passu* after a certain period, with priority in favor of the Earth-Mother, though any more exact historical relation is not determinable. But Dione naturally *became* an earth-goddess<sup>5</sup> from the fact of her association with and ultimate succession to Gaia, whom she superseded; this *imposed* upon her character a stamp, conceivably incident to such despotism as of tradition, inheritance and prejudice. The complex character of Zeus at Dodona (cf. Cl. Rev. XVII, 1903, pp. 178, 179), with affiliations to sky, water and earth, also facilitated the later complex development of Dione. Dione, as an earth-goddess, represents a bit of religious evolution, perhaps not clearly recognized before. But there is no valid reason for doubting that her original and her prime character was that of a *water-goddess*.<sup>6</sup>

It is, therefore, quite within the bounds of possibility and of probability that under surface appearances there lurks this unity

<sup>1</sup> Usener: Götternamen, pp. 35, 36; cf. Schol., Od. iii 91 (Apollod.); E. M. 280, 41 seq. Διώνη: ἡ Θεός. ἀπὸ τοῦ Διός, Διώνη, κατὰ ἑκτασιν τοῦ ο εἰς ω. ὅτι αὐτὴ πρῶτον γέγονε γαμετὴ τοῦ Διός; Eust., Il. v 370 (558, 14); Varr., L. L. ix 42.

<sup>2</sup> Her. ii 52 (see Usener: Götternamen, p. 279); Paus. vii 21, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell: Cults, i 13.

<sup>4</sup> Lasaulx: Das Pelasg. Orakel des Zeus zu Dodona, n. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Apollod. i 1, 3; Hyg., f., pr., p. 26 (Bunte); Schol., Hes., Th. 17; Orph., Lob.: Agl. 505 [Procl. in Tim. v 295 D.]; E. M. 280, 41 seq.; Procl. in Tim. v 297 a.

<sup>6</sup> Gruppe, pp. 354, 1353.

of thought between the two myths of Homer and of Hesiod, pervaded as they are by identical implications; and that, within the machinery of Greek psychology, Dione (in this relation) originally powerfully suggested the same complex of ideas to which Aphrodite, goddess of *fertility* in all departments of life, owed her *birth* from the sea.

The mystery<sup>1</sup> of that sea-birth seems to have been dispelled by Plutarch,<sup>2</sup> who, rationalizing away its exquisite poetry, set forth the nature of the feeling that, originally only half-articulate, eventually embodied itself forth in such terms:

οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἀλιγενῇ τοὺς ποιητὰς προσαγορεύειν καὶ μῦθον ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεπλασμένον ἐξευγχεῖν, ὡς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐχούσης τὴν γένεσιν, εἰς τὸ τῶν ἄλλων γόνιμον αἰνιττομένους· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Ποσειδῶνα καὶ ὅλως τοὺς πελαγικοὺς θεοὺς πολυτέκνους καὶ πολυγόνους ἀποφαίνουσιν· αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ζῴων οὐδὲν ἂν χερσαῖον ἢ πτηνὸν εἰπεῖν ἔχοις οὕτω γόνιμον, ὡς πάντα τὰ θαλάττια· πρὸς δὲ καὶ πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς 'φύλον ἄμουσον ἄγουσα πολυσπερίων καμασῆνων.'

This myth, then, consciously and significantly, brought Aphrodite, presiding genius over the mystery of creation, into intimate relation, in her own genesis, with that element in Nature which, to the mind that created the myth, pre-eminently possessed the greatest potentiality of life. Here, then, lies the secret of that imagination that associated Aphrodite, in the matter of her own birth, with that element that especially creates being,—a conception that lodged naturally in the Greek mind and gained the strongest hold upon it.

Greek myth, poetry and philosophy, all confirmed the correctness of the early intuition which, penetrating straight into the heart of Nature, realized that the vitality of the organic world resides in the *Lebenswasser*:

Γίνεται δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὑγρῶν παρασχούσαν, αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν νομίζουσι.<sup>3</sup>

and

<sup>1</sup> Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, 90; Procl., Plat. Kratyl., p. 117; Nonn., Dionys. xli 98 seq.; Him., Ecl. 18, 2; Varr., L. L. v 63.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., Quaest. Conv. v 10, 4, ii 685 F. Cf. E. B. Tylor: Primitive Culture, c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., Vit. Cr., 17.

Ὀκεανὸν καλέω, πατέρ' ἄφθιτον, αἰὲν ἔόντα,  
 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,  
 δε περικυμαίνει γαίης περιτέρμονα κύκλον.  
 . . . . .  
 ἔλθοις εὐμενέων μύσταις κεχαρισμένος αἰεὶ.<sup>1</sup>

and

συμφωνεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἰπών

ἦτοι μὲν πρότιστα χάος γένητο.

τοῖς πλείστοις γὰρ ὠνομακέναι δοκεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρὰ τὴν χύσιν.<sup>2</sup>

and

ἀλλὰ Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας ὕδωρ φησὶν εἶναι  
 [τὴν ἀρχήν].<sup>3</sup>

and

ἡ Πήρα χωρίον πρὸς τῷ Ὑμητῷ, ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης· καὶ κρήνη ἐξ ἧς αἱ  
 πιούσαι εὐτοκοῦσι καὶ αἱ ἄγονοι γόνιμοι γίνονται. Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐν Μαλθακοῖς  
 καλιὰν αὐτὴν φησιν, οἱ δὲ Κυλλοπήραν· τάττεται δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν τὴν  
 φύσιν βιαζομένων ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως.<sup>4</sup>

Significantly we read in the great Babylonian Ištar epic,

"Then went Namtar and broke down the palace eternal,  
 And shattered the pillars, the foundation stones scattered;  
 He led forth the spirits, on golden thrones sat them,  
 With the water-of-life sprinkled Ištar the goddess".<sup>5</sup>

Aphrodite was not the daughter of Mother-Earth,<sup>6</sup> but owed her birth to the sea,—because of the compelling power of the association of Water and Life.<sup>7</sup> Later refinements of Greek thought did not affect the original significance of this myth, although, in time, it naturally acquired a more complex connotation of meaning.

We believe, then, that owing to a prepossession of the Greek mind, the motivation which originally led to the choice of Dione

<sup>1</sup> Orph. h. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., Aquane an ignis sit utilior ii 955 E.

<sup>3</sup> Arist., Metaph. i. 3, p. 983 b. (Diels: Poet. Philos. Frag., p. 14).

<sup>4</sup> Photius: Lex., Κύλλον Πήραν.

<sup>5</sup> J. A. Craig: O. T. S., vol. viii, 1889, pp. 249-256, "The Babylonian Ištar Epic."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Harrison: Prolegomena to Grk. Rel., pp. 309-315. Farnell: Cults, ii 697.

<sup>7</sup> Cf., e. g., Schol., Eur., Phoen. 347 [Harvard Studies xv, 1904, p. 99, Ballentine]; Hom., Il. x 200, 246, 301 [Plat., Kratyl., 19, 402 b; Plut., De fac. in orbe lunae, 25; Plut., De Is. et Os., 34, ii 364 D.]; Aes., Pr. 140, Dan. fr. (Athen. 600 A.); Verg., G. iv 382; Emped. (Stein) 210-216; see Ohnefalsch-Richter: Kypros, vol. i, p. 263, vol. ii, Pl. 36, 6 et 37, 9.

as mother of Aphrodite was similar to that which had earlier resulted in the poetic fiction of her sea-birth. This belief is strengthened by the testimony of Cornutus<sup>1</sup> who says:

πιθανὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μὴ δι' ἄλλο τι παραδεδοῖσθαι γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἢ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ τὰ πάντα γενέσθαι κινήσεως δεῖ καὶ ὑγρασίας, ἅπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν θαυσιλὴ κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἐστὶ. Ἐστοχάσαντο δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ Διώνης αὐτὴν θυγατέρα εἰπόντες εἶναι. διερὸν γὰρ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐστὶ.

The complete fusion of these two myths, of the Cyprian goddess as sea-born and of Aphrodite as daughter of Dione,—such as,

Σοὶ Διὸς ὑψίστοιο καὶ εὐπλοκάμοιο Διῶ[ν]α[ς] Κύπρ[ι] . . .  
 . . . κυπρογένεια θεά,<sup>2</sup>

and

ἄμπερ Κυπρογένεια, Διὸς τέκος ἦδὲ θαλάσσης,<sup>3</sup>

also indicates their similar significance. If Dione had any other meaning or provoked any contrary suggestion, the combination would have resulted in an absurdity; if the terms "Dione" or "Dionaeon", in this connection, suggested nothing more at a later date, beyond the Greek affiliation of Aphrodite, then the sea-birth remains the undisputed belief. Carried back, this clearly indicates that at the beginning Dione and the moist element were identical, or at least that Dione implied nothing to the contrary.

Thus, in spite of external, geographical contradictions, that are, perhaps, accentuated,<sup>4</sup> the two legends of Homer and Hesiod possess a common, vital meaning that makes them both expressions of a deep, racial consciousness. The surmise that Aphrodite's descent from Dione may have called forth other visions or hauntings of other things to Homer and the Homeric world does not exclude the belief that in its *essentials*, this myth is *sprung* from an *ancient* feeling, vividly present, regarding Life and Creation, which lifts the myth out of its purely local connection into an atmosphere of universality. Poetic symbolism (out-

<sup>1</sup> Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum*, c. 24, § 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Ant. d. Acc. d. Lincei* vi, 1896, 275.

<sup>3</sup> Bion, *Id.* 9 (17), 1; cf., further, Theocr. xv 106; Eur., *Hel.* 1098; Eur., *Phaeth.* fr. 781, 15; Theocr. xvii 36; Dionys., *Perieg.* 509, and *Procl.*, *Plat. Kratyl.*, p. 116 (Orpheus).

<sup>4</sup> Whibley: *Comp. to Grk. Studies*, p. 314 (Gardner, E. A.), "There are two distinct and inconsistent accounts of her birth."

growth of a common religious inheritance) in all probability here points to an instinctive recognition of a biological truth that only later received scientific formulation, and just as this is true for the representation in Hesiod, of Aphrodite sprung from the sea, so it is equally valid for the other, of Aphrodite, daughter of Dione.

The two legends may thus become an important expression of the Greek *Welt-Anschauung*, and their subtle undercurrent of meaning seems to anticipate the judgment of the first philosopher,<sup>1</sup> of whom it was said, "Thales, the Milesian, declared that the first principle of things is water. . . . For he says that all things come from water and all are resolved into water. The first basis for this conclusion is the fact that the seed of all animals is their first principle and it is moist; thus it is natural to conclude that all things come from water, as their first principle. Secondly, the fact that all plants are nourished by moisture and bear fruit, and unless they get moisture, they wither away. Thirdly, the fact that the very fire of the sun and the stars is fed by the exhalations from the waters and so is the universe itself."

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<sup>1</sup> Plut., *De Plac. Philos.* i, c. 3, ii 875 D-E.; Fairbanks: *The First Philosophers of Greece*, p. 5; (cf. Zeller: *A History of Greek Philos.*, [Pre-Socr.] tr., Alleyne, vol. i, p. 217 seq.).



#### IV.—PROPERTIUS III 24.

- Falsa est ista tuae, mulier, fiducia formae,  
 olim oculis nimium facta superba meis.  
 noster amor tales tribuit tibi, Cynthia, laudes:  
 versibus insignem te pudet esse meis.  
 5 mixtam te varia laudavi saepe figura,  
 ut, quod non esses, esse putaret amor;  
 et color est totiens roseo collatus Eoo,  
 cum tibi quaesitus candor in ore foret.  
 quod mihi non patrii poterant avertere amici,  
 10 eluere aut vasto Thessala saga mari,  
 haec ego, non ferro, non igne coactus, et ipsa  
 naufragus Aegaea verba fatebor aqua.  
 correptus saevo Veneris torrebar aheno;  
 vinctus eram versas in mea terga manus.  
 15 ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae,  
 traiectae Syrtes, ancora iacta mihi est.  
 nunc demum vasto fessi respiscimus aestu,  
 vulneraque ad sanum nunc coiere mea.  
 Mens Bona, siqua dea es, tua me in sacra dona:  
 20 exciderant surdo tot mea vota Iovi.

In this elegy, which, with the twenty-fifth, forms Propertius' final renunciation of that 'grande passion' which had hitherto been the chief inspiration of his verse, the general drift of the thought is sufficiently clear: He no longer sees in Cynthia the beauties which he once saw, and he is heartily ashamed of his praise of her; his blind passion was too strong to be overcome by the remonstrance of his friends, or by magic, or by leechcraft; he was like a victim of sorcery, a prisoner of war, a storm-tossed sailor; but at last his dangerous voyage is safely ended, and his wounds are healed, and he is going to dedicate himself *ex voto* to 'Good Sense', for Jupiter has too often turned a deaf ear upon his prayers.

But the precise meaning of verses nine to twelve, and their relation to the whole, are much disputed, and in offering a new interpretation of this passage it will be well for me to begin by

indicating the difficulties which I find in the explanations of my predecessors.

The text of these four verses given above is that of the good MSS, punctuated as in Dr. Postgate's Corpus edition. Dr. Postgate himself (in his Selections) and Mr. Butler, who likewise retains the reading of the MSS, adopt, substantially, the following interpretation of Hertzberg: "'Iam omnes tuas illecebras (referred to by *quod* in verse 9) quibus nec *patrii amici*,<sup>1</sup> nec veneficarum artes liberare me potuerunt abiiciam. Iam vestris medicinis opus non est. Ipse me servavi. Non *coactus ferro* aut *igne*, sed *ultro* superiores illas laudes (*haec* in verse 11) *mera verba* fuisse fateor et usque fatebor, vel si ipsi dii, quod iam antea *fugienti puellam* (i. 17) mihi minitati sunt, naufragii periculo pristina amoris vota repetituri sint'. Neve tu nunc in eo haereas, quod pronominis numerum poeta variaverit. Nam cum *Quod* recte haberet, singulari numero omne quod praegressum erat argumentum amplectens: *Haec* tamen necessario sequi debebat propter notissimum illud attractionis genus, quo pronomen demonstrativum praedicati sui positioni accommodatur."

In this I find objectionable (1) its obscurity, for while *quod* and *haec* are both taken to refer generally to the *infatuation* described in verses one to eight, *quod* must be understood more particularly of *Cynthia's arts* (*illecebras*), and *haec* of the *poet's praises* (*laudes*) of Cynthia; (2) that verse twelve cannot well be an allusion to i. 17, because (A) in that earlier poem the scene is laid not in the Aegean, but in the Ionian, and there is there no talk of actual shipwreck, and (B) because it is unlikely that Propertius, in his present bitter mood, would suggest, even ironically, that Heaven had once sent a storm to punish his desertion of Cynthia; (3) that in verses 11 sq. we naturally expect the poet to make, as a fit conclusion to verses 9 sq., some such downright boast of self-emancipation as Hertzberg interpolated in the words of his paraphrase 'Ipse me servavi.'

Professor Phillimore, for his Translation, reads *coacta sed* (verse eleven), and punctuates (as in his text) with a colon after *foret*, a period after *mari*, and a colon after *agua*, rendering 11 sqq. thus: "This confession I will now make: fire and steel could not wring it from me, nothing but veritable shipwreck in the Aegean main. I was caught, etc." This involves the highly doubtful

<sup>1</sup> Hertzberg's italics.

interpretation of *verba* as object of *fatebor*; separates 9 sq. from 11 sq., though the plain allusions to i. 1 in these four lines indicate that they should be closely connected; and makes Propertius assert that it required a shipwreck to induce him to confess that he had been a victim of the goddess of love, despite the fact that this has been the prevailing theme of his three books of elegies.<sup>1</sup>

Before Hertzberg's edition it was the fashion to adopt the conjectural reading (proposed by Livineius and by Passerat) *vera fatebar*. The absurdity of this has been clearly pointed out by Hertzberg: "*Quid enim Propertius verum fassus dicatur? Scilicet eam opinionem, quam nec patrii amici nec Thessala saga ei eripere potuerit, Cynthia laude et amore dignam esse. At fatemur ea quae quamvis celare cupiamus, tamen aut vi coacti aut veritatis studio ducti proloquimur. Atqui Propertius numquam amorem et laudes Cynthiae dissimulavit, nec dissimulare voluit, nec si voluisset ulla res ut laudaret coegisset. Unde quam frigide, quam paene ridicule dictum foret: 'non ferro non igne coactus pulchram eam esse dixi' apparet. A further refutation of this reading—if a further one be needed—is found in the undoubted reminiscence of i. 1, 27 (*ferrum et ignes*) in verse 11. In the earlier poem the iron and the fire are alluded to as means of curing passion, not of forcing one to confess it, and so they must unquestionably be understood here, as well (see Mr. Butler's note).*"

Still another line of interpretation was followed by I. H. Voss, who, reading *vera fatebor*, took *quod* as referring to what has gone before, and *haec* to what comes after. Baehrens also read *vera fatebor*, but substituted Guyet's *quae* for *quod* (verse 9), and changed *ipsa* to *ipse* (verse 11) making both distichs look forward to verses 13 sq. Baehrens was perhaps influenced by Hertzberg's criticism of Voss for having failed to see that the allusions to i. 1 in our four verses (viz., *patrii amici*, *Thessala saga*, *non ferro non igne*) belong, naturally, together. A more serious objection, and one which applies to Baehrens' arrangement as well as to that of Voss, is the pompous anti-climax of the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Phillimore does not notice this conjecture in the revised edition of his text (published after the translation). Whether the punctuation there followed implies that he takes *vera fatebor* as in his translation, I do not feel certain. Mr. Butler uses the same punctuation and interprets after Hertzberg.

sentence, which amounts to this: 'The terrible condition which neither my friends (who realized it, and did their best for me), nor the Thessalian witch (whom I appealed to, myself), nor violent remedies (to which I freely offered to submit) could remove from me I will myself confess *really existed!*' If he said anything like this Propertius was truly an adept in 'the art of sinking.'

There remains to consider the interpretation given by Herr Rothstein, who prints the passage as follows:

quod mihi non patrii poterant avertere amici,  
 eluere aut vasto Thessala saga mari.  
 haec ego, non ferro, non igne coactus—et ipsa  
 naufragus Aegaea vera fatebar aqua.

*Quod* and *haec* are to be understood as referring to the poet's desperate condition, described in verses one to eight. In verse eleven "der ursprünglich beabsichtigte Gedanke ist etwa *hunc morbum nunc tandem deposui*, aber Nebengedanken, die sich aufdrängen, verhindern die Fortsetzung in der angefangenen Weise, so dass schliesslich in v. 15 mit *ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae* der Schlussgedanke von neuem einsetzen muss, ohne dass auf das *haec ego* noch Rücksicht genommen wird". Verse twelve is to be taken as an allusion to the shipwreck (which Herr Rothstein candidly admits was not a shipwreck) of i. 17; but what is the meaning of *vera*? "Zu *vera fatebar* muss das Objekt aus dem vorhergehenden *haec* entnommen werden, aber der Begriff verschiebt sich ein wenig mit Rücksicht auf das regierende Verbum und auf den Hauptinhalt des Gedichtes, so dass wesentlich die lobenden Äusserungen über Cynthias Schönheit gemeint sind". The net result of all this manipulation of the passage is this: The MSS are departed from in *vera* and *fatebar*, and the thought is even more obscure than in the traditional text, for besides the awkward shift of reference, in passing from *haec* to *vera*, there is now no conceivable reason for the change from the singular *quod* to the plural *haec*. But, whereas Hertzberg was content to draw upon his imagination for the idea '*ipse me servavi*', Herr Rothstein has, at least, attempted to show how it may be derived from the words of his author, and his separation of *haec ego* from *vera fatebar*, is, I think, a step in the right direction.

The four verses ought, I believe, to run thus:

quod mihi non patrii poterant avertere amici,  
 eluere aut vasto Thessala saga mari,  
*hoc* ego, non ferro, non igne coactus, et ipsa  
 naufragus Aegaea—vera fatebor—aqua.

"What the friends of our house were not able to remove from me, nor Thessalian witch to purge away with the vast sea, that I myself have been able to remove, not under compulsion of knife or cautery, ay, even though I was a castaway—I will confess the truth—in the very Aegean main."

The ellipse of the verb with *ego* is not more harsh than that in i. 13, 13 *haec ego non rumore malo, non augure doctus* (sc. *dico*), or that in iv. 11, 79 *et siquid doliturus eris, sine testibus illis* (sc. *dolet*). As, in the latter example, *doliturus* gives the necessary clue to the missing verb, so in our passage do the words *poterant avertere . . . eluere*. The *Aegaea aqua* of verse twelve is metaphorical. It is precisely that body of water which the English poet Tofte<sup>1</sup> calls "the Egean dangerous sea of Love", and it no more refers to the voyage, real or imaginary, which forms the subject of i. 17, than does the phrase *traiectae Syrtes* in verse sixteen. What Propertius means by dedicating himself to 'Good Sense' (verse nineteen) is now clear. His delivery from the bonds of passion has been *his own doing*, and that, too, despite the dire extremity of his plight, which he figures forth under the three separate metaphors of the shipwrecked sailor, the victim of dreadful magic, and the captive warrior—metaphors which are resumed, in the same order, in verses fifteen to eighteen: first the voyage (15 sq. = 11 sq.), then the cauldron (17 = 13), finally the battle (18 = 14).

The comparison of stormy love to stormy seas is a commonplace in classical poetry and requires no illustration, but I may remind the reader that it was a favorite topic with Propertius. Witness (besides 15 sq. of our own elegy) ii. 12, 7 *scilicet alterna quoniam iactamur in unda*; ii. 14, 29 sq. *nunc ad te, mea lux, veniet mea litore navis/servata, an mediis sidat onusta vadis*; ii. 25, 27 *mendaces ludunt flatus in amore secundi*; iii. 17, 2 *da mihi pacato vela secunda, pater*, and (of the greater security in loving a boy) ii. 4, 19 sq. *tranquillo tuta descendis flumine cumba*:

<sup>1</sup> Arber's English Garner, Vol. VIII, p. 276.



[*quid tibi tam parvi litoris unda nocet?* The particularity of the phrase *Aegaea aqua*, where Sea of Love is meant, is, perhaps, insufficiently paralleled by that of *Syrtes* (verse sixteen) in the sense of Shoals of Love, for *Syrtes* had become almost a common noun. But in Horace Carm. i. 14, *Pontica pinus*, of the Ship of State, and *interfusa nilentes aequora Cyclades*, of the Breakers of Civil Discord, seem clearly to be examples of the same kind of concreteness we have here, in Propertius. "Es ist dies ein von der gelehrten hellenistischen Dichtung überkommenes Stilmittel, das gebildete Leser durch die an derartige geographische oder mythographische Namen sich knüpfenden Ideenreihen zu beschäftigen und zu reizen sucht".<sup>1</sup>

Passerat's *vera*, for *verba*, is an easy correction. In i. 8, 22 the same scholar made the same emendation, adopted by several recent editors. In Tib. (Lyg.) iii. 2, 7 *vera* is the correct reading of the good MSS, but *verba* is found 'in libris perpaucis' (Huschke ad loc.). In Calpurn, 6, 25 one MS has *vera*, and the others give *verba*, *verbum*, and *verbo*. The interruption of the sentence by a parenthesis is almost a mannerism in Propertius. Editors vary of course, in estimating the degree of isolation to be indicated in the pointing of this or that phrase. In the Corpus text marks of parenthesis, or dashes, are employed in 23 instances. A striking example is i. 19, 15 sqq., where we have a parenthesis within a parenthesis:

quarum nulla tua fuerit mihi Cynthia, forma  
gratior, et (Tellus hoc, ita iusta, sinat)  
quamvis te longae remorantur fata senectae,  
cara tamen lacrimis ossa futura meis:

Besides *vera* the only point at which I have departed from the MSS is in changing *haec* to *hoc*. The letters *e* and *o* are so often confused that *hoc* may have been carelessly copied *hec*, or the

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling-Heinze,<sup>2</sup> on Horace, Odes i. 1, 14. Propertius' propensity to individualize his concepts is brought into strong relief when his mode of presenting an idea may be compared with that of Tibullus. Dr. Postgate (Sel. from Tib., p. 73) remarks upon a significant case of the kind, in Tib. i. 1, 75 *hic ego dux milesque bonus*, as contrasted with Prop. ii. 22, 34 *hic ego Pelides, hic ferus Hector ego*. Similarly, in describing Elysium, Tib. says (i. 3, 65 sq.) *illic est cuicumque rapax Mors venit amanti, et gerit insigni myrtea sarta coma*, but Prop. (iv. 7, 63 sq.) tells us how Andromedeque et Hypermestre sine fraude maritae/narrant historiae nota pericla suae.

error may have arisen from wrongly expanding an ambiguous abbreviation (Lindsay, Textual Emendation, p. 95). Or the scribe may have misunderstood *vera fatebor*, and have thought that the pronoun belonged with *vera*.

I hope that these slight innovations, and the assumption of an ellipsis of the verb, may not be regarded as too great a price to pay for the clearness gained in verses nine to twelve, and the added energy and coherence imparted to the whole poem.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Maximianus, in the third elegy, relates in a mock-elegiac strain the manner in which he overcame his chaste passion for Aquilina. There are some half-dozen places in this elegy which may be reminiscences of Propertius. Compare Max., verse eleven, *carmina pensa procul nimium dilecta iacebant*, with Prop. i. 3, 41, *nam modo purpureo fallebam stamine somnum* (*carmina* = cards for preparing wool, according to Prof. Ellis: the parallel is cited, after Giardelli, in Mr. Webster's edition of Max.); Max. v. 20 *quaque solet mentis ducere signa color*, with Prop. i. 18, 17 *an quia parva damus mutato signa colore*; Max. v. 23 *at postquam teneram rupit verecundia frontem*, with Prop. iii. 19, 3 *vos ubi contempti rupistis frena pudoris* (cited by Mr. Webster); Max. v. 25 sq. *mox captare locos et tempora coepimus ambo/atque superciliis luminibusque loqui*, with Prop. iii. 8, 25 *tecta superciliis si quando verba remittis*; Max. v. 41 *sic modo certa fides*, with Prop. iii. 8, 19 *non est certa fides* (cited by Mr. Webster); Max. vv. 53-58 *'dicito et unde novo correptus carperis aestu?/dicito et edicti sume doloris opem./non intellecti nulla est curatio morbi,/et magis inclusis ignibus antra fremunt'/dum pudor est tam foeda loqui vitiumque fateri,/agnovit taciti conscia signa mali*, with Propertius' words to Ponticus i. 9, 33 sq. *quare si pudor est quam primum errata fateri; dicere quo pereas sacpe in amore levat*.

No single one of these coincidences in thought or phrase is an indubitable case of imitation, but so many of them within so brief a compass, make one wonder if the elegy was not written when Max. was fresh from a reading of Propertius. If this was so, then our passage may have been in his mind when he wrote vv. 85 sqq.: *quae postquam perlata viro sunt omnia tanto,/meque videt fluctus* (substantially the figure Prop. has in *Aegaea aqua*) *exsuperasse meos,/ 'macte' inquit 'invenis proprii dominator amoris* (cf. *haec ego*), *et de contemptu sume trophaea tuo*'. Maximianus is not, of course, parodying this particular poem, but I think there can be no doubt that he is poking fun at the erotic elegy, in general, and the *discidium* of which Prop. is here writing may easily have supplied a hint or two for that described in Max. iii.

## V.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

### II<sup>1</sup>.

1. In the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1906, p. 300, and again in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale*, 1906, p. 334, Sig. Gatti published two triangular fragments of an inscription, then recently discovered just outside of the Aurelian wall between the porta Salaria and the porta Pinciana. His conjectures as to the content of the inscription as a whole and his attempt at interpretation were all that could have been expected under the circumstances, as the following quotation shows: "Questa lapide fu posta da uno *scriba librarius*, probabilmente quaestorio *ex (tribus decuriis)* od anche *ex (collegio sexprimorum)*, il quale ebbe per due volte un'altra dignità, per esempio la *praefectura fabrum* od anche la *cura* del collegio; ed esercitata questa carica, *honore usus*, ossia *honore functus*, fece il monumento sepolcrale per sè, per la propria moglie, e per altre persone della sua famiglia e per alcuni liberti". These fragments, which I saw and copied in June, 1907, were then in the basement of number 15, Corso Pinciano, the temporary quarters of the Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, who own the ground across the street where these and other ancient objects had come to light during excavations preliminary to the erection of a new school building. The missing part of this inscription I am now able to supply from the marble itself which is in the collection of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. It seems to have been discovered about the same time as the two fragments above mentioned, and not far from the same place. The slab, which is m. 0,94 in height, m. 1,05 in width at the widest part, and m. 0,08 in thickness, contains the following text, to which is added for the sake of completeness the part already published by Gatti.

<sup>1</sup>The first article of this series, "A New Italic Divinity", appeared in this Journal, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 450 ff.

C·ALLIVS·C·L·NIGER·SCRIB·LIBR·EX  
 III·DECVR·QVAESTOR·DECVR·II·HONORE·VSVS·SIBI  
 ET·HELVIAE·C·L·ASTERIONI·VXORI·QVAE·SECV·VIXIT  
 ANNIS·XXXXII·SVISQVE·OMNIBVS·POSTERISQVE·EORVM  
 AVIDIAE·SEX·L·PRIMAE·VXORI·ET·C·ALLIO·C·L·PHILONICO·PATRI  
 ○ PATRONO·ET·ALLIAE·C·L·NYSAE·MATRI·ALLI·NIGRI  
 SALVIDIAE·T·L·CHARMOSYNAE·SOCRVI·MATRI·HELVIAE·ASTERIONIS  
 C·ALLIO·C·L·HERMOGENI·FRATRI ○ NATALI·L  
 T·SALVIDIO·T·L·GALLO·FRATRI·HELVIAE·ASTERIONIS ○ PHYLLIDI·L  
 CINCIAE·L·L·CALLIOPAE·VXORI·GALLI·BENEMERITAE·AB·SE

NICEPHORO · L  
 LEVCENI · L  
 AMIANTHO · L  
 TYCHENI · L  
 HEROINI · L  
 AMPHIONI · L  
 RVFO · L  
 PHILEROTI · L  
 HABILI · L  
 PRIMO · L  
 THALASSO · L

G(aius) Allius, G(ai) l(ibertus), Niger, scrib(a) libr(arius) ex (tribus) decur(iis) quaestor(ius), decur(ialis bis), honore usus, sibi et Helviae, (mulieris) l(ibertae), Asterioni, uxori quae secum vixit annis (quadraginta duobus) suisque omnibus posterisque eorum; Avidiae, Sex(ti) l(ibertae), Primae, uxori; et G(aio) Allio, G(ai) l(iberto), Philonico, patri, patrono; et Alliae, G(ai) l(ibertae), Nysae, matri Alli Nigri; Salvidiae, T(iti) l(ibertae), Charmosynae, socru, matri Helviae Asterionis; G(aio) Allio, G(ai) l(iberto), Hermogeni, fratri; T(ito) Salvidio, T(iti) l(iberto), Gallo, fratri Helviae Asterionis; Cinciae, L(uci) l(ibertae), Calliopae, uxori Galli bene meritae ab se; Nicephoro l(iberto), Leuceni l(ibertae), Amiantho l(iberto), Tycheni l(ibertae), Heroini l(ibertae), Amphioni l(iberto), Rufo l(iberto), Phileroti l(iberto), Habili l(iberto), Primo l(iberto), Thalasso l(iberto), Natali l(iberto), Phyllidi l(ibertae).

The inscription belongs to the earliest imperial times, in all probability to the reign of Augustus. It is, however, not cut in the best monumental style, but shows here and there the influence of the *scriptura vulgaris*; for example, in the tendency of the horizontal stroke of T to curve upwards from left to right. In-

stances of the long form of I occur in line 3 VIXIT, and in line 4 ANNIS, SVIS, POSTERIS; and of the apex in line 5 AVIDIA and in line 10 AB · SE (cf. C. I. L. X, 996 AB · POPVLO).

None of the persons mentioned here appears in the sixth volume of the Corpus,<sup>1</sup> but the gentile names are all common with the exception of Salvidia, which is comparatively rare. A Salvidia T. f. Secunda is found at Furfo (C. I. L. IX, 3518) and it is barely possible that her father was the *patronus* of the Salvidia and of the T. Salvidius of our inscription. The common occurrence of the *gentes Allia, Helvia, Avidia* in the ninth and tenth volumes of the Corpus suggests the possibility of this family having originally come from the south. In fact, the Allii are pretty well scattered over central Italy, six persons of that name being found in Capua alone.<sup>2</sup> One of these, moreover, is an Allia Nysa,<sup>3</sup> though scarcely to be identified with the mother of C. Allius Niger. Among the names at the end, perhaps the most striking is Leuce, which occurs also in C. I. L. II, 4292; V, 814; IX, 2389. In inflection it is like Tycheni from Tyche, showing the vulgar treatment by which Greek nouns in -η of the first declension became -n stems in Latin.<sup>4</sup> These names of freedmen and freedwomen are not all of the same date and by the same hand as the body of the inscription: certainly the last two names belong to a later period.

The order of the words which compose the official title is also worthy of remark. Instead of the regular *scriba librarius quaestorius trium decuriarum*, we have here *scriba librarius ex tribus decuriis quaestorius*, an arrangement for which there seems to be no exact parallel in inscriptions of this class, though *scriba librarius trium decuriarum quaestorius* occurs in C. I. L. XIII, 1815. The reason for the change, however, is quite clear to one who examines the stone itself. The graver, having cut the name and the first two words of the title, found not only that there was too little room left for the word *quaestorius*, but that the space remaining was insuffi-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Huelsen kindly gave me this information by letter after consulting his manuscript indices to the *inscriptiones urbanae*. Later, when visiting Baltimore, he read this paper in the proof and made valuable suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. L. X, 3785, 3943, 4002, 4003, 4246 (bis).

<sup>3</sup> C. I. L. X, 4246.

<sup>4</sup> Lists of such formations are given by Pirson, *Langue des inscriptions Latines de la Gaule*, p. 143, and Carnoy, *Latin d'Espagne*, etc., p. 236.



cient even for the initial Q, if cut on the same scale as the other letters of the line and with the fully rounded form, to say nothing of the long tail, extending beneath the two following letters, which marks this character wherever it occurs in the following lines. He therefore decided to postpone *quaestorius* and to put the preposition *ex* in the narrow space available. This he succeeded in doing only by cramping and narrowing the word as much as possible: the contrast in width between these letters, especially the X, as they appear here and as they appear elsewhere on the stone, is very marked.

In most inscriptions of this class where the three decuries have been mentioned, the word *decurialis* is omitted as unnecessary; but in some cases it does appear even with all the other elements found in the present instance. For example, see C. I. L. II, 3596 DECVRIALIS · SCRIBAE · LIBRARIĪ | QVAESTORIĪ · TRIVM · DECVRARIIVM, and compare Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 2318, s. v. *decurialis*. The presence of the numeral with *decurialis* may have had something to do with its location at the end of the title.

In the Fasti of the *scribae quaestorii sexprimi* (C. I. L. I,<sup>2</sup> p. 74) we see that one of the *curatores* or *sexprimi* in the year 766 of Rome had the cognomen Niger, the preceding part of the name being lost. That this Niger and our C. Allius Niger are one and the same individual is, of course, perfectly possible. If so, we must assume that in the year 13 A. D., after the erection of our inscription, he was again a member of the three decuries of the *scribae*, this time as a *curator*. Against such a hypothesis only one objection can be urged, namely, that Niger is commonly found as a cognomen; and perhaps it is easier to believe that two men with the same cognomen served as *scribae quaestorii* in the latter part of the reign of Augustus than to make the assumptions necessary for a complete identification. At all events, it is an interesting coincidence, if nothing more.

2. An honorary inscription to the actor M. Ulpus Apolaustus, freedman of the emperor Trajan, was published in C. I. L. VI, 10114. The stone, a large pedestal which must have supported a statue of the famous actor, was seen by De Smedt and other epigraphists of the sixteenth century in the neighborhood of the Pantheon (in domo Maphaeorum ad thermas Agrippae. SMET.), but has been lost for about three hundred years. It would be interesting if we could follow in detail the history of this great

block of white marble from ancient times until now. We know only that by the end of the sixteenth century the block was so hollowed out that the outside shell with its rectangular opening could be used as a well-head.<sup>1</sup> Then at a later time the side bearing the inscription was sawn off, the raised moulding or cornice was roughly chipped away, and the upper and lower corners at the right were cut so as to leave a projecting point instead of the perpendicular side. It is probable that the pedestal was sawn up for paving stones, that the moulding around the inscription was removed because it made the slab too thick at the edges for the place which it was designed to occupy, and that the two corners were cut in fitting the piece into an angle of a room or pavement. When and how the stone bearing the inscription was transported from the Campus Martius across the Tiber, it is, of course, impossible to determine; at all events, workmen preparing to lay water-pipes near the Piazza di S. Marta behind St. Peter's in the autumn of 1906 found it face downwards at a depth of about two metres.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately it was broken into seventeen pieces by the blow of a pickaxe, but has now been put together at the Johns Hopkins University. The perfect correspondence of the reading on the stone with the edition in the Corpus gives further testimony, if any were needed, to the accuracy and reliability of De Smedt.<sup>3</sup> To show how much of the inscription is preserved, I print here the text together with the supplements furnished by the sixteenth century copy :

<sup>1</sup> Boissard (MS) cited in C. I. L., l. c.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot personally vouch for the accuracy of this information which was furnished by a Roman dealer in antiquities.

<sup>3</sup> It was suggested to me by Professor Huelsen that this inscription is, perhaps, not the same as that copied by De Smedt. An actor of such renown may have had more than one statue erected in his honor. But I think he was misled, as I was, by the word *rotunda*, which is applied to this base by the author of the *Emendationes ad Mazochium*. If it had been a round pedestal of any reasonable size, it could scarcely have had an inscription extending over a plane surface fully a metre in width. But the drawing of Boissard (V, 6), published in the year 1600, shows a large square pedestal with the usual moulding at top and bottom and the inscription, as usual, on the front. The interior, too, is hollowed out with a square opening at the top. For a base of the sort given in this engraving the size of our inscription is just about what we should expect.

M · VLPIVS · AVG · LIB · APOLAUSTUS  
 MAXIMVS · PANTOMIMORUM  
 CORONATVS · ADVERSVS · HISTRIONES  
 ET · OMNES · SCAENICOS  
 ARTIFICES · xii

The slab is four centimetres in thickness, sixty-six centimetres in height and eighty-seven centimetres in width at the widest part, and the cutting is in the best monumental style of the time of Trajan.

3. Far less accurate in its published text is an inscription edited by Huelsen from the so-called Alciatus of Fea, which offered a poor copy without indication of the division into lines. For the sake of comparison I print first the text as it appears in C. I. L. VI, 35285 a:

D · M  
 T · FLAVI IANVARI  
 MVSIS · V · A · III · D · XXX  
 T · F · IANVARIVS  
 5 ET · ACILIA · NICE  
 PARENTES · PIENTISSIMI  
 SIBI · POSTERISQ · SVORVM  
 FECERVNT

Quite naturally the editor did not understand the word MVSIS at the beginning of the third line; hence his note: MVSIS perperam descriptum vel interpolatum. In the fifth line, too, he corrected ACILLA of his copy to ACILIA. I am now able, however, to give the correct reading from the stone itself, which turned up in Rome in 1906 and is at present in the Johns Hopkins University. The tablet, which is six centimetres in thickness, forty-four centimetres in height and forty-eight centimetres in width, has lost a small fragment from the lower corner on the right, but fortunately without injury to the text. It reads as follows:

D · M ·  
 T · FLÁVI · IÁNVARI  
 · MVRIS ·  
 V · A · IIII · D · XIX ·  
 T · F · IÁNVÁRIVS · ET ACÍLIA · NICE  
 PARENTÉS · PIENTISSIMI ·  
 SIBI POSTERISQVE SVOR ·  
 FECERVNT ·

The inscription is not in the best monumental style but is fairly well cut and probably belongs to the first half of the second century. It shows seven examples of the apex over long vowels, one of them being over the vowel I (ACÍLIA). This use of the apex, however, instead of the more usual *I-longa* is not rare in the second and third centuries.<sup>1</sup> The points after the D and M of the first line and before MVRIS of the third line have the form of ivy leaves. But the most interesting feature is the appearance of the name *Mus*, which is of such rare occurrence, if we leave out of consideration the three famous *Mures* of the plebeian *gens Decia*. Occasionally it is found alone, as a pet name apparently (C. I. L. VI, 22734 and 35887), or as the cognomen of a freed-woman (ib. VI, 14496 Cassia C. I. Mus; XII, 4680 Caninia P. I. Mus). In the case of C. I. L. VI, 16771 a, P. Decumius M. P. V. 1. | Philomusus | Mus, Henzen's comment is "agnomen ita ortum esse patet, ut, cum nimis longum esset nomen Philomusi, per compendium ille *Mus* a popularibus appellaretur". It seems probable that, in the present instance also, *Mus* was nothing more than a nickname for T. Flavius Ianuarius.<sup>2</sup>

4. In Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I, 3, p. 495, Huelsen, speaking of the route traversed by the triumphal procession, says: In der Kaiserzeit war vermuthlich ein Theil des Weges (zwischen Porta Triumphalis und Circus oder zwischen Circus und Porta Carmentalis?) von einer Halle begleitet, welche den Namen Porticus triumphi führte. This statement is based on two inscriptions, namely, C. I. L. VI, 29776 [p]orticus triumphi itu et reditu octies semis efficit passus (mille), found

<sup>1</sup>Christiansen, *De apicibus*, etc., pp. 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup>The name of a T. Flavius Ianuarius, possibly the grandfather or the father of this T. Flavius Ianuarius Mus, is found on stamped bricks of the end of the first century. Cf. C. I. L. XV, 1153 and Bull. Com. 1901, p. 96.

near the porta Metrovia, and the following, which was discovered in 1887 at Baiae and is now at the Johns Hopkins University :

~~PORTICVS · TR~~<sup>ymphi</sup>  
~~LONG · EFFIC · PED~~<sup>(es) dlvi</sup>  
~~ITVM · ET · RED~~ <sup>Ped(es) ∞cxii</sup>  
~~PASS · CCXXII~~ <sup>semis</sup>  
~~QVINQVIES · IT~~<sup>um et red.</sup>  
~~EFFICIT · PASSUS~~  
~~∞CXII~~

The letters of this inscription are well formed and deeply cut and belong without doubt to the first century of our era. At the time of discovery only eight fragments came to light and three of these have since disappeared, carrying with them the whole of the last line and the first two letters of *passus* in the line preceding. It is unnecessary for me to discuss the topographical questions involved further than to repeat the view of De Rossi and Huelsen that these two inscriptions, both of them in all probability from Roman villas, together with C. I. L. XIV, 3695 *a* from the villa of Hadrian near Tivoli, which is plausibly restored to the same class, imply a Porticus Triumphalis between the Porta Triumphalis and the Circus Maximus as the prototype of all other *porticus triumphalis*. For the first publication of this important inscription and its restoration as well as the subsequent discussion, see G. de Petra, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1887, p. 242; De Rossi, *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1887, p. 314 and *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888, p. 709; De Rossi and Gatti, *Bull. Com.*, 1889, p. 355; Huelsen, *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1889, p. 268 and Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I, 3, p. 495, n. 66; M. Ihm, *Ephem. Epigr.*, VIII, p. 100, n. 374.

5. An interesting inscription from the neighborhood of Cumae was published by M. Ihm in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VIII, 1899, p. 116, as follows:

445 cippus marmoreus rep. in agro Cumano.

C · OVIO · SP · F · S · OL · L · EMNI · q · VIXIT ·  
 ANN · XIII · M · I · III · D · X · TI · CLAVDIVS  
 SEVERVS · PR · I · D · PATER · TI · CLAVDI  
 VS · hONORATVS · II · VIR PATRV  
 5 VS · OVIA · TYCHE · MATER · ET SVIS  
 H · M · S · S · H · N · S ·

Criscius dedit Mommseno descriptum ab alio.

1 traditur D pro Q. — 4 traditur II · ONORATVS.



As the stone itself is now in the collection of the Johns Hopkins University, I am able to correct this imperfect copy in several important particulars. The text is cut in the finest monumental style of the earlier half of the first century on a large slab of white marble (m. 0.08 × 0.75 × 1.29), now in two pieces, with the usual moulding or cornice and runs as follows:

C · OVIO · SP · F · SOLLEMNI · D	m. 0.07
VIXIT · ANN · XIII · M · IIII · D · X	0.05
TI · CLAUDIVS · SEVERVS · PR · I · D · PATER	0.05
TI · CLAUDIVS · HONORATVS	0.05
II VIR · PATRVVS	0.05
OVIA · TYCHE · MATER	0.05
ET SVIS	0.045
H M S S H N S	0.04

G(aio) Ovio, Sp(uri) f(ilio), Sollemni, d(efuncto), | vixit ann(is) tredecim), m(ensibus quattuor), d(iebus decem), | Ti(berius) Claudius Severus, pr(aefectus) i(ure) d(icundo). pater, | Ti(berius) Claudius Honoratus, | (duo)vir, patruus, | Ovia Tyche, mater, | et suis. | H(oc) m(onumentum) s(ive) s(epulcrum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equatur).

The unusually large initial C in the first line, the two instances of the long I, and the two examples of T rising above the other letters to save space in the most crowded line are indicated in the printed text. It is hardly possible, however, to show so clearly the fact that the last two lines are cut in a far inferior and less regular style and were doubtless added later by another graver. The abbreviation D at the end of the first line, which Ihm (l. c.) wished to emend to Q, must, of course, be kept in an inscription so carefully cut as this and must be interpreted as *defuncto*. Though fairly common in expressions which denote age at death, *defunctus* naturally does not occur often in connection with *vixit*. Yet we may cite C. I. L. VIII, 2755 D M S | P · AELIO · P · F | CRESCENTIANO | . . . | DEFVNCTO VIXIT | ANNIS VIGINTI DVO | etc. and ib. XIII, 2024 POTITIO | ROMVLO | DEFVNCTO, in which a later hand inserted before *defuncto* the clause *q. vi(xit) ann(is) xx, m(ensibus) v*. Worthy of remark also is the fact that a *praefectus iure dicundo* is first attested for Cumae in this inscription and that

this, the second witness to the existence of Cumaean *duoviri* practically removes the doubt expressed by Mommsen on C. I. L. X, 3704 "Duumviratus offendit, cum praeterea Cumani magistratus praetores audiant". Though *praetor* may have become the regular official title, it is easy to understand how in cases where two magistrates were concerned, the popular use of *duovir*, either with or without the more formal title, could and did continue. For example, at Abellinum, at Grumentum, and at Telesia, we find *praetor duovir* (C. I. L. X, pp. 1139 and 1145; ib. IX, p. 205), and at Aquae Sextiae, *duovir praetor* (ib. XII, 4409). Referring to Narbo, where *praetor duovir* occurs in four inscriptions, Mommsen says (ib. XII, p. 522) "Magistratus ad-sunt duoviri . . . . , in titulis antiquioribus etiam praetores duoviri dicti." On the other hand, at Beneventum *duovir* seems to have been the earlier title: compare Hirschfeld in C. I. L. IX, p. 137 "crediderim saeculo secundo labente summi magistratus vocabulum ita Beneventi immutatum esse, ut duoviri fierent praetores Ceriales." That which happened elsewhere could take place in Cumae also and while the best, and almost the only evidence of the praetorship (C. I. L. X, 3698) belongs to the year 289 A. D., our inscription shows that the less formal and less pretentious title was in use there before the middle of the first century.

6. Now that attention has been directed to Cumae, I give the text of another inscription of the Johns Hopkins collection, which is said to have come to light in the same region in the spring of 1907 and has, I believe, never before been published. It is cut on a small tablet of white marble (m. 0.355 × 0.435), the whole surface of which is so corroded that the letters are almost illegible. Yet it is possible with certainty to decipher the text, which runs as follows:

D            M  
L VINVLLI o  
HERACLAE  
AVGVSTALI  
CVMIS  
HEREDES

At the beginning of the second line, only the perpendicular hasta of L is visible, and at the end of the same line the stone is so much worn that nothing can be read. The *gens Vinullia* first

appears here in connection with Cumae, though previously attested for Pompeii and Herculaneum (C. I. L. X, 1051 and 1403). That L. Vinullius Heracla was a freedman, is suggested not only by his cognomen but by the office which he held at Cumae. Other Augustales Cumis are mentioned in C. I. L. X, 690, 3676, 3701.

I take this opportunity to add a note on C. I. L. XIV, 2365 POMPONIAE · L · F | PHILAE, an inscription which Dessau for some reason did not see, but edited correctly from conflicting copies made by Jucundus and Marini. It is engraved in fine letters on a round altar of white marble (m. o, 63 in height and m. 1, 44 in circumference), which now stands in the gardens of the Villa Chigi at L'Ariccia.

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## VI.—EFFECT OF SIGMATISM AS SHOWN IN HOMER.

In the quarrel scene in Iliad A, 179 f. occur these words :

*οἰκαδ' ἰὼν σὺν νηυσὶ τε σῆς καὶ σοῖς ἐτάροισιν  
Μυρμιδόνεσσιν ἄνασσε· σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω—*

Professor Sterrett in his recent Edition of Selected Books of The Iliad makes the note "The hissing of the sigmas contributes to show the speaker's passionate excitement". This is doubtless directly connected with the note in Ameis-Hentze, "Das gehäufte σ in 179 und 180 gibt der leidenschaftlichen Rede einen scharfen Ton". These two comments are but typical of a whole series running back to Eustathius and from him to Dion. Hal., De Comp. Verb. 100. Some of these I gave in a former article (Vol. XIX 69 ff.). I shall repeat the note from Dionysius, as it is the centre of the problem :

*ἄχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ, καί, εἰ πλεονάσειε, σφρόδρα λυπεῖ· θηριώδους γὰρ καὶ ἀλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός.*

The opinion current from Dionysius to the present is that sigma is especially the letter of rudeness or passionate anger, and that its repetition gives a disagreeable harshness to the tone. The notes I have quoted are simply applications or illustrations of a well-accepted theory. In the passage quoted from A there are seven sigmas in one verse and five in the other, or twelve in both. There are in Homer about three hundred examples of sigmatism as marked as this, so that in so great a number there might be found a few accompanying expressions of anger, joy, or sorrow and no safe conclusion could be drawn, but if practically all the examples belong to one class of emotions, then the conclusion is inevitable that the tone of sigmatism harmonizes with that class.

If there be any real sigmatic tone, the more sigmas any verse has the more distinct should be that tone, so that in verses with eight, nine, or ten sigmas the effect of sigmatism should be more clear than in a verse with but seven, as in A, 179.

There are in Homer about seventy verses with eight or more sigmas, so that it is safe to draw a conclusion of the effect of sigmatism from these seventy verses, if any conclusion can be drawn.

The Odyssey will be discussed in detail and the results thus obtained will be applied to the Iliad. I follow the text of Dindorf-Hentze. The Odyssey has thirty-five verses with eight or more sigmas each, and I wish to set these examples over against the theory of 'harsh, passionate, and disagreeable sigma'. They are as follows. The first example describes the lading of the ship for Telemachus:

- β, 415:      *κάθισαν, ὥς ἐκέλευεν Ὀδυσσεύς φίλος υἱός.*  
 γ, 26:              *αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νοήσεις.*

These are the encouraging words with which Athena tries to give spirit to Telemachus so that he may speak to Nestor. The next is from the speech he made to Nestor.

- γ, 97:              *ἀλλ' εὖ μοι κατάλεξον, ὅπως ἤντησας ὀπωπῆς.*  
                          *λίσσομαι, εἰ ποτέ τοι τι πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐσθλὸς Ὀδυσσεύς*  
 δ, 48:              *ἐς δ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐνέστατας λούσαντο.* Found also ρ, 87.  
 δ, 241:             *δοσοὶ Ὀδυσσεύς ταλασίφρονός εἰσιν ἀεθλοὶ.*  
 501:                *πέτρῃσιν μεγάλῃσι καὶ ἐξεσάωσε θαλάσσης.*  
 582:                *στήσα νέας καὶ ἔρξα τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.*  
 844-5:             *ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλὶ πετρήεσσα,*  
                          *μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης.*

These two verses have more sigmas than any other two consecutive verses in Homer, having sixteen, while in A, 179-80 there are but twelve. Nothing could be milder than this calm description of the islet Asteris.

- ε, 269:             *γηθόννος δ' οὐρῷ πέτασ' ἰστία διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς.*

ζ, 149: These are the introductory words in the speech Odysseus made to Nausicaa. Odysseus appeared before her naked and miserable, so undone by his exposures in the sea that his looks were repulsive (*σμερδαλέος*). His whole fate depended on his making the best possible impression with the means he had, but all he had was his language, so he risked his all on that. A coarse, harsh, or disagreeable beginning and all was lost. His speech was most alluring:

- μειλίχιον καὶ κερδαλέον φάτο μῦθον.*  
                          *γονοῦμαι σε, Ἀνασσα· θεὸς γὰρ τις, ἢ βροτὸς ἔσσι;*  
                          *εἰ μὲν τις θεὸς ἔσσι,*

Here in this introduction in twenty consecutive syllables twelve sigmas were used. Then later in the same speech, when most artful and flattering he said:

- σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν, ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινῆς.*

Yet these sigmas were not "harsh and repulsive" but on the



contrary so winning and gentle was his speech that Nausicaa at once replied,

ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὔτ' ἄφρονι φωτὶ ἔοικας.

If in Homer there were an atom of truth in the oftquoted statement of Dionysius that "sigma is harsh and disagreeable and if repeated sorely displeases", Odysseus would never have come before Nausicaa with such a flood of sigmas, and if he had so come she would certainly have been alarmed and followed her maidens in flight.

The next passage with a verse containing eight sigmas is from the scene where Echeneus advises Alcinous to care for the prostrate suppliant, Odysseus.

η, 163: εἶσον ἀναστήσας, σὺ δὲ κηρύκεσσι κέλευσον—

ι, 300: ἄσπον ἰών, ξίφος ὅξιν ἐρυσάμενος—

ι, 324: τόσσον ἔην μήκος, τόσσον πάχος εἰσοράασθαι.

This is part of the famous description of the staff of the Cyclops. The verse which follows has more sigmas than any other verse in the Odyssey. The companions of Odysseus wonder:

κ, 45: ὅσος τις χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἄσκι' ἐνεστίν.

268: ἄξεις σῶν ἐτάρων. ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖσδεσι θάσσον—

From the entreaty of Eurylochus to flee from Circe's island:

κ, 329-30: σοὶ δὲ τις ἐν στήθεσιν ἀκήλητος νόος ἐστίν.

ἢ σὺ γ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος,

κ, 506: ἰσθὺν δὲ στήσας ἀνά θ' ἰστία λευκὰ πετάσας.

528: εἰς ἑρεβος στρέψας, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι—

The last four verses spoken by Circe to Odysseus:

λ, 431: ἀσπάσιος παῖδεςσιν ἰδὲ θμῶεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν—

ν, 213: Ζεὺς σφας τίσαιτο ἱκετήσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους—

349-50: τοῦτο δέ τοι σπέος ἐστὶ κατηρεφές, ἐνθα σὺ πολλὰς

ἔρδεσκες νύμφῃσι τεληέσας ἐκατόμβας.

These words are from the description of his own Ithaca, which Athena gave to Odysseus. The next describes the dogs of the Swineherd:

ξ, 22: τέσσαρες, οὓς ἐθρεψε συβώτης, δρχαμος ἀνδρῶν.

ο, 111-12: Τηλέμαχ', ἢ τοι νόστον, ὅπως φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοιῶς,

ὥς τοι Ζεὺς τελέσειεν, ἐρίγδοντος πόσις Ἥρης.

These verses begin the farewell greetings of Menelaus to Telemachus. This king was always a perfect gentleman, polite and kindly. At the very spot where he was most courteous he used the most sigmas.

In the next verse Telemachus plans with Eumaeus for the comfort of Odysseus.

- π, 82: εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, σὺ κόμισσον ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσιν ἐρύξας·  
 ρ, 449: ὥς τις θαρσαλέος καὶ ἀναιδὴς ἔσσι προίκτης.  
 ν, 92: τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης ὅπα σύνθετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 φ, 137, 164: κλίνας κολλητήσιν ἐνξέστης σανίδεσσιν·  
 225: ὥς δ' αὐτως Ὀδυσσεὺς κεφαλὰς καὶ χεῖρας ἔκυσσεν.  
 409: ὥς ἄρ' ἄτερ σπονδῆς τάνυσεν μέγα τόξον Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 χ, 74: φάσγανά τε σπάσασθε καὶ ἀντίσχεσθε τραπέζας—

Eurymachus tries with these words to encourage the suitors to resist Odysseus. They are spoken not in anger, but to cheer, and the speech begins with *ὦ φίλοι*.

- ω, 30: ὦς ὄφελος τιμῆς ἀπονήμενος, ἧς περ ἄνασσες.

From the address made by the shade of Achilles to the shade of Agamemnon. There are no other verses with eight or more sigmas in the Odyssey. Among so many examples there is not one case of passionate anger, but, with only three exceptions, all belong to calm description, or are spoken in tones of tenderness, politeness, or sadness. Not only is sigma associated with calmness, but whenever in the Odyssey a phrase is used implying the anger of the speaker, as for example *ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη*, the verse immediately following is practically asigmatic. This example will illustrate: When the utterly unworthy and immoral Melantho insults Odysseus, he replies:

- σ, 337: τὴν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 ἢ τάχα Τηλεμάχῳ ἔρέω, κύνον, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις.

Only one sigma in this harsh and angry verse. Other verses illustrating this same rule are: θ, 166; ρ, 460; σ, 15, 389; τ, 71; χ, 35, 61, 321. These verses do not average two sigmas each. The conclusion to be drawn from calm verses abounding with sigmas and from angry verses without them is irresistible. The results obtained from a study of the Odyssey agree with those to be gained from the Iliad. The first marked example of sigmatism is A, 83, where the priest turning in confidence says to Achilles:

- ἐν στήθεσσι τοῖσι, σὺ δὲ φράσαι, εἰ με σώσεις.

Here are nine sigmas, yet editors pass it over in silence to comment on the angry tone of repeated sigmas in a verse containing but seven, A, 179. The last pronounced case of sigmatism in the

Iliad is where Helen takes up the strain in the dirge chanted for Hector :

Ω, 771-2: ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἐπέσσι παραιφάμενος κατέρυκες  
σῇ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνῃ καὶ σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν.

The four cases of the extreme of Homeric sigmatism, description of the island Asteris, Odysseus' address to Nausicaa, Menelaus' farewell to Telemachus, and this lament of Helen over Hector, seem to me to give the exact tone of sigmatism in Homer. Sigma is so closely joined with the idea of calmness or gentleness that nearly all words of insult, anger, or reproach are asigmatic. Some of them are as follows :

κύν, κακαί, ἀμήχανε, νήπιοι, μαινόμενε, πόποι, πέπον, ὀλοώτατε, δαιμόνιε, μάντι κακῶν, φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων, κερδαλεόφρον, ἀκριτόμυθε, ἡπεροπεντά, ἰόμωροι, βροτολογίε, μαιφόνε, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, λωβητήρ, παρθενοπίπα, ἂ δειλ', βουγάιε, αἰνótατε, νηπίτιε, κυνάμνια.

This list is not complete, but it is certainly significant that so large a number of the words expressing passionate emotion are asigmatic. Not only do individual words of extreme anger rarely have sigma, but even whole verses expressing the most violent passion are asigmatic. I select the following six verses as denoting the highest pitch of passionate emotion.

A, 149: Achilles' reply to the threat of Agamemnon to despoil him of his prize :

ὦ μοι, ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε, κερδαλεόφρον.

Z, 326: Hector returns to the city to urge the matrons to offer gifts to Athena, and finds Paris with Helen to whom he speaks with cutting words—*αἰσχροῖς ἐπέεσσιν*—as follows :

δαιμόνι', οὐ μὲν καλὰ χόλον τόνδ' ἐνθεο θυμῷ.

Λ, 385: Diomedes has been shot by an arrow to his great chagrin, and shouts in anger to the archer who wounded him :

τοξότα, λωβητήρ, κέραι ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπίπα,

Acamas, striving to rescue his slain brother, shouts :

Ξ, 479: Ἄργεῖοι ἰόμωροι, ἀπειλάων ἀκόρητοι.

X, 345: If one single verse were to be selected, as the most passionate in Homer, it would certainly be this verse in which Achilles denies the request of Hector to save his body from the dogs and return it to his kinsmen :

μή με, κύον, γόνυν γονάζω μηδὲ τοκῆων.

x, 365: When the dying Hector foretells to Achilles his impending doom he answers:

*τέθναθι· κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι, ὅππότε κεν δῇ—*

To these may be added these three verses from A:

106: *μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγνον εἴπας.*

122: *'Ατρεΐδῃ κύνιστε, φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων,*

146: *ἥδ' σὺ, Πηλεΐδῃ, πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν.*

And also

Ω, 262: *ἀρνῶν ἥδ' ἐρίφων ἐπιδήμιοι ἀρπακτῆρες.*

The whole subject of sigmatism has simply been allowed to go by default, and no one has taken the trouble to trace its origin and verify its application. In the former paper it was shown that Euripides was not especially prone to use sigmas, and that his reputation depends on a joke of two poets, Plato and Eubulus. The same jokes or joke is responsible for the theory of "passionate hissing sigma", as this theory depends on the fact that by chance the joke was directed against Medea 476:

*ἔσωσά σ' ὥς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι κτλ.*

Suppose, by chance, the joke had been directed against the grateful prayer of Orestes in Eumenides 754:

*ὦ Παλλάς, ὦ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμὸν δόμον,*

or at Soph., O. R. 1481, where the blind Oedipus says to his daughters:

*ὥς τὰς ἀδελφὰς τάσδε τὰς ἐμὰς χέρας,*

or at 1507 of the same play, where Oedipus pleads with Creon:

*μηδ' ἐξιώσης τάσδε τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς,*

or at a hundred similar sigmatic passages, then commentators would call attention to the calm and tender tone conveyed by repeated sigmas.

Here it is surely once more evident how dangerous it is to build a theory on the unsupported jokes of Comedy.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Mysterium und Mimus im Rig-Veda**, von LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER, Professor an der K. K. Universität zu Wien, Wirklichem Mitglied der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Leipzig, 1908.

The Rig-Veda consists in the main of a succession of hymns of praise, addressed to a large variety of polytheistic gods. These gods are worshipped with libations and songs, in exchange for which they are expected to bestow their favors in the very tangible form of wealth, sons, and general prosperity. Marked ritual practices, traditional names of bards, and a body of priests, classified according to their functions at the sacrifice, are evidences of advanced formalism. This does not leave much play to literary production of any other kind than the monotonously psalmodic. But the collection is large: there is in it—mostly between the lines—something of the real life of the time; some historic brief mention; some legendary allusions that might, given the occasion and the master, become epic or dramatic themes; and a good deal of the more popular beliefs, superstitions, practices, festivals, and other homely interests.

Aside from a number of hymns, mostly in the tenth book, that deal with popular practices, the most conspicuous exception to what I have called the psalmodic hymns of the Rig-Veda is furnished by a dozen or more dialog hymns, occasionally even monolog hymns. The persons speaking and the subject-matter of these dialogs, broadly considered, are religious. The speakers are, as a rule, gods, deified objects, or semi-divine heroes and priests. On the other hand, the subject-matter of these dialogs is legendary and narrative, rather than hymnal or psalmodic. That is to say, the stuff is such as lends itself equally well to epic or dramatic treatment. As a matter of fact the beautiful Undine-like theme of king Purūravas and the nymph Urvaçī emerges in Sanskrit literature in both forms, epic narrative and drama. The material is invitingly plastic; later India, fond both of story and of drama, cannot tell us much of the original purpose of these dialogs.

If my memory serves me, as late as the eighties of the last century these dialogs were considered to require no particular explanation. The Rig-Veda, tho in the main religious, was thought to contain purely literary, *belles-lettres* compositions, as well as hymns to the gods, or ritualistic stanzas of one sort or



another. No one is surprised at the epistolary novel with its trick of expunging the author of the story, and letting the hero and heroine tell their tale to one another. The story gains—or loses, according to the taste of the reader—by an additional element of what may be called surchargedness. It is more effusive, more flamboyant, more emotional, and, of course, also more dramatic. There is even the monolog novel in which the tale is confided to a patient diary, or to some straw friend of the male or female sex. The author thinks to secure still greater emotional effect. In this way it seems to me that the Rig-Veda dialogs passed in those earlier days for narratives whose outer form required no particular explanation. At the same time, with inherent contrariness, they suggested something dramatic too; I doubt whether the classical Sanskrit drama was ever treated in any intelligent book or article dealing with Sanskrit Literature without some allusion to these early Vedic dialogs.

This was the situation when Professor Oldenberg stepped in with his *ākhyāna* theory. *ākhyāna* means 'story', 'epic story'. In two articles, in the xxxvii. and xxxix. volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, Professor Oldenberg reconstructed even for the early Vedic period the following narrative or epic type: There is a story in what we might call a floating state. This story has certain climaxes which were at an early time fixed in poetic stanzas. The narrator of the story might tell the body of it in a manner suited to his own taste and memory. But if he were a good Oriental story-teller he would at the proper point of the narrative bring in the verses; they are the particular delicacy, the *pièce-de-résistance* of the entire entertainment. And the theory goes on to assume that such verses might be fixed and recorded in set literary form without the prose frame, so as to be more or less abrupt or even unintelligible, unless the prose narration could be supplied from some collateral source of information.

Professor Oldenberg, gifted literary historian, sanest of scholars, did not construct this theory lightly. This type does exist: in the story of *Çunaḥçepa*, of which we have both the prose and the verses; in the apocryphal 'Tale of the Eagle' (*Suparnākhyāna*), and in all sorts of later apologues. The *Suparnākhyāna* and Jātaka 253 do in fact preserve verses of stories which taken by themselves make no connected sense and require prose framing in order to be understood. The Jātaka is explained by a speech of Buddha in the Vinaya Piṭaka. The question is not so much whether the *ākhyāna* type of literature existed at some early Indian period, but whether it applies to the dialog hymns of the Rig-Veda; whether they also are poetic stanzas put into the mouths of personages that figured in a prose-frame narrative. Professor Sylvain Lévi<sup>1</sup> and,

<sup>1</sup> Le Théâtre Indien, pp. 301 ff., 307 ff., 333.

very lately, Dr. Johannes Hertel<sup>1</sup> entered vigorous protest against this theory, and insisted upon the purely dramatic character of the dialogs. And now Professor Leopold von Schroeder's brilliant and profound book, 'Mysterium and Mimus im Rig-Veda', not only reasserts their dramatic character, but essays to show that they were religious, dramatic mysteries, performed by actors on various ritual and festival occasions, part and parcel of the religious beliefs and practices of the real people of the earliest Hindu time. This agrees best with their very varied and peculiar contents: the underlying religious substance of many of these dialogs is overlaid with facetious, erotic, orgiastic, or phallic elements. As with other Indo-European peoples, and for that matter peoples the world over, these elements sought and found expression in dramatic representations with distribution of rôles among different speakers. These representations were accompanied by dances, and, presumably, also by some kind of dress-up. We should expect that the great Vedic ritual, handed down to us with strenuous detail in Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka-Sūtra, would report all this, but the superior character of this ritual precludes such reports. The Āraṇyaka ritual is hieratic, represents the religious activity of a high class of priests in behalf of the gentry. Here, in general, is not the place for the uncanny and unsavory. The popular drama, with its orgiastic elements, is treated with silent contempt in a ritual that, in spite of its own obvious shortcomings, is after all based upon adoration of the luminous pantheon of the Rig-Veda. Its priest-craft, even though it has become in its own way foolish and mechanical, is at the root the same as that of the Rig-Veda bards, the Vasīṣṭhas, and Viṣvāmitras, the Bharadvājas and the Atris. Such, in brief, is Professor von Schroeder's theory.

In the main, and understood aright, this theory is sound, in my opinion. The dialogs are dramatic; they do not for the most part require any prose connective tissue, and such tissue does not in reality exist. An occasional narrative allusion in a Brāhmaṇa text to the subject-matter of the dialogs we must expect in these texts whose whole soul is in illustrating and motivating ritual practice by events that happened in the legendary past. And the Brāhmaṇas often go their own silly way, full of misunderstandings and later-born clap-trap; in this they are followed by the still sillier ancillary texts of the Bṛhaddevatā and Rīgvidhāna variety.<sup>2</sup> I think there should be no doubt in any mind, after von Schroeder's demonstration, that such texts do *not* contain the prose frames of the dialog stanzas. Nor are they based upon earlier and better narratives which have been lost.

<sup>1</sup> Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xviii, p. 59 ff., 137 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See, as an illustration of this, the treatment of the dialog of Saramā and the Paṇis in the Čātyāyana Brāhmaṇa (reported fragmentarily by Sāyaṇa); in the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa, and the Bṛhaddevatā, 8, 24. See Oertel, JAOS. xix, 97 ff.

Professor von Schroeder is also right in associating with some of these dialogs mimetic, orgiastic, phallic, or facetious practices. The chapter in which he elaborates the dialog hymn of Agastya and Lopamudrā (pp. 156 ff.) is a skilful and delightful study of an ancient practice, held alive tenaciously in modern times. He has at least convinced me that we have before us a charm for fructification or generation. This he compares successfully with similar Germanic and Roman practices, and, more narrowly, with the well-known obscenities of the solstitial *mahāvratā*-festival. He might have added the practice at the 'horse-sacrifice' in which the chief queen (*mahiṣī*) puts into her lap the *membrum* of that 'confounded horse' (*aṣvaka*) which, even after the horse has been sacrificed, remains a convincing symbol of generative power (VS. 23, 18, *et. al.*). The existing ritual within which such practices are fossilized either no longer understands these practices, or it explains them away. This I have shown to be the case with the *Kuntāpa*-hymns, that curious medley of 'gift-praises', riddles, and obscenities which fits like a round peg in a square hole into the honest *Ṣrāuta*-rites of the Āitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1</sup>

I am not quite so convinced, as is Professor von Schroeder, that *all* the dialogs were accompanied by mimetic representations and dances, though it is the singular merit of the book to have established the dance as an early Vedic and Indo-European companion of dramatic composition. What the author has to say about the dances of the gods (pp. 36 ff.), most notably about the 'dancer' (*nṛtū*), god Indra, I regard as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of mythology and Vedic science which the book has to offer. In the light especially of the Kṛṣṇa myth of later times, nothing would seem more natural than that a god like Indra should be made to act his own dances, the outward sign of his warlike inspiration. But, just at this point, some evidence might be expected from the ritual texts, even after allowing much for their usual reticence in such matters. I do not forget that the author assigns these dramas to a very early time. Yet the custom of dancing is tenaciously long-lived, and dances of themselves are so harmless, that we might expect to see them spared by the priestly code. I imagine that the mysteries of these dramatic dialogs were, to some extent and on some occasions, mental, and in the nature of *jeux d'esprit*. Every religious performance had its festal and climax moments. Evidence of the existence of dramatic dialog without mimic accompaniment is not wanting in the literature. So, e. g., the dialogs between teacher and pupil at the confirmation rites (*upanayana*). Purely intellectual *samvādas* (dialogs) are the cosmic and theosophic charades at the horse-sacrifice (VS. 23,

<sup>1</sup> See Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda* (Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research), pp. 98, 100.

9 ff., *et. al.*). I have had occasion in the past to remark on the curious juxtaposition of 'gift-praises' (*dānastutis*) and phallic passages, in RV. 1, 126, and 8, 1, 30 ff.<sup>1</sup> Each type of composition, from its own point of view, marks festive humor. RV. 1, 126 is a monolog in which the very reputable ancient bard, Kakṣivānt, first brags incontinently about his great fees, and then obscenely exalts his sexual prowess.<sup>2</sup> The villanous *Kuntāpas* are preceded in the AV. by the phallic *Vṛṣākapi* hymn,<sup>3</sup> and followed by the *Dadhikrā* hymn, which also contains phallic elements, exactly as in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras.<sup>4</sup> The distribution of the *dakṣiṇā* (*baksheesh*) seems to have been one of the chief occasions for erotica. On such an occasion the dramatic recital of such a tit-bit as the *Vṛṣākapi* hymn requires no other justification than its own contents. There is no urgent need of assuming costumes, or other mimetic accompaniments. The refrain, *viṣvasmād indra uttarah* is a toast to Indra, just as is *indrāyendo pari srava* in the festive and popular hymn RV. 9, 112,<sup>5</sup> about which the ritual is regrettably silent. It will be observed that there is no very profound difference between von Schroeder's and my own view. The latter, perhaps, clears the ground for the pure *sahvāda*, a real Hindu type of literature, beside the *ākhyāna* and the *nāṭaka*. Solemn colloquy, riddle-question and answer, and humorous, off-color dialog, distributed dramatically between two or more persons, point in a measure to social, rather than strictly popular, performance. I have previously used the word 'saukneipe' to illustrate the obscenities which appear in such surprising intimacy with the 'gift-praises'. I seem to see the feasts, abundant consumption of soma, and the inevitable pleasantries that follow. What more fitting setting for the dramatic recital of the *Vṛṣākapi*, and the like, own brothers of the *Kuntāpas*?

*Habent sua fata libelli.* Professor von Schroeder's book is essentially comparative and deals largely in reconstructions of prehistoric myths, rites, and popular practices. Such reconstructions cannot from the nature of the case present themselves with the certainty of mathematical demonstrations. There are bound to be some accidents and uncertainties. In common with the author I have never doubted the existence of prehistoric Indo-European mythology.<sup>6</sup> But all that are faithful to this idea must expect yet a while the buffets of that *intransigent* scepticism which at the present time holds in these matters. The book will arouse much discussion, possibly not all of it evenly sympathetic,

<sup>1</sup> The Atharva-Veda, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> All that is completely misunderstood by the later ritualist; see CC. 16, 11, 4-6.

<sup>3</sup> Von Schroeder, pp. 304 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In AB. 6, 27 this kind of composition is called *śilpa*, 'work of art', imitative of the art works of the gods, and likened unto the cloth of gold with which elephants are caparisoned.

<sup>5</sup> Von Schroeder, pp. 408 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See my Religion of the Veda, pp. 100 ff.



but I believe that the number of its friends will grow, and that it will mark an epoch both in Sanskrit Philology and in Comparative Mythology. All students of religions will look forward with tense expectation to Professor von Schroeder's nearly completed 'Altarische Mythologie', which, I am sure, will go far to restore the present rather unstable equilibrium of these studies.

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W. THOMSON: The Basis of English Rhythm, Glasgow, 1904.  
The Rôle of Number in the Rhythm of Ancient and Modern Languages, Glasgow, 1907. T. S. OMOND: Metrical Rhythm, Tunbridge Wells, 1905.

Mr. Thomson distinguishes *accent* from *pitch*, but admits "the common tendency of strong accent and high pitch to occur together upon the same syllable" (*Basis*, p. 8). A more important point is his view of the relation of *accent* and *quantity*. He rightly calls attention to the fact that, in English, quantity does not depend on the length of the vowels alone, but that the length of syllables may be "due to length of vowels, or of consonants, or of the two combined", here agreeing with Prof. Wulff of Lund. He also points out that "monosyllables, which are, in connected speech, accented, are often distinctly long", instancing the quantitative equality of *bit* and *bar* in *a bar more* and *a bit more*, and of *tall* and *bad* in *a tall man* and *a bad man*, and declares that "syllabic burden" is no test of quantity, *shouldst* being shorter than *shut* in *If thou shouldst mark* and *To shut windows*, here joining issue with Mr. Omond. In spite of this Mr. Thomson does not accept the point of view which is identified with the name of Prof. Wulff, namely that *quantity depends* entirely on accent, or rather on *logical or ethical relief*. What then is his attitude? We must not of course take seriously his dictum that he "has treated for the most part of phenomena which could be investigated and recorded by a Chinaman who does not know a word of our language, but does understand something of the nature of musical rhythm" (p. 36). He has given us one definite indication of his views (p. 10): "Within certain limits . . . the insertion or omission of unaccented syllables does not affect the total duration of a phrase, and the length of accented syllables varies according to the character and number of unaccented syllables intervening before the next accent . . . Quantity, as applied to the isolated words of a dictionary, is one thing, and as applied to words forming a piece of organised speech, quite another". On the one hand he refers (p. 33) to "the natural device of accenting every long syllable", the reverse of which



would be nearer the truth, and on the other he falls foul of Stone and Mr. Bridges, the first of whom "proceeds wholly upon the basis of the lengths of vowels in isolated words", by no means a correct presentation of Stone's theory, and the latter of whom is "lamentably weighted by preconceptions of length as based on the quantity of syllables considered apart from their setting" (p. 33).

Quantity depends therefore, presumably, partly on accent, but not wholly: "there is a natural quantity which accent cannot entirely get rid of", to use Mr. T. S. Omond's words.

We are not then to deal with isolated words, but to examine words in their setting. So far so good. But apart from the one slight indication mentioned above, we get no hint of the manner in which the setting influences the quantity. And when we come to examine Mr. Thomson's notation, we find that seemingly he is quite arbitrary, dealing, if with any rules, then only with those applying to isolated words, together with Mr. Omonds "marshalling to time" to some extent. According to Mr. Thomson *his tresses gray* is normally  $\text{e} | \text{e} | \text{e} | \text{e}$  (it is rather  $\text{e} | \text{e}^3 | \text{e} | \text{e}$ ) but in *his withered cheeks and tresses gray* the words *and tresses gray* are to be noted  $\text{e} | \text{e} | \text{e} | \text{e}$ .

Evidently this is quite arbitrary, unless the difference is to be put down entirely to marshalling the words to a different time.

The whole line is much nearer  $\text{e} | \text{e}^3 | \text{e}^3 | \text{e}^3 | \text{e}$  if the time be indeed triple.

Mr. Thomson admits that syllables are not merely either long or short, that "variations of length in both long and short syllables—in the same syllable, indeed, according to its setting" exist. He instances the groups:

*a long dress,*  
*a longer dress,*  
*a longer address,*

as being all of equal duration, and therefore the syllable *long* varying in duration, since *long*, *longer*, *longer ad-* occupy the same time. Mr. Thomson fails here, and it is a failing he shares with Miss Dabney and to a considerable extent with Lanier, in taking no account of the possibility of pause between seemingly adjacent syllables: *long* and *dress* being certainly separated by a pause, which is filled up in the other two examples. The length of *long* may differ in the three examples instanced, but Mr. Thomson has not proved it or even suggested its probability.

Mr. Thomson attempts to prove his case, or at least to illustrate it by means of *Latin* examples. This can prove nothing and illustrate nothing with reference to the relation of accent and quantity in English. Latin examples of clash of accent and

quantity are *ipso facto* out of court, since accent and quantity admittedly clashed in Latin, whether Latin accent was a stress or a pitch accent or both, and whether the ictus was exteriorized by stress or pitch or by neither. In English the case is quite other. The movement of *did I* and of *coloured* in *coloured glass* is not, I think, equivalent to that of *âmās*, nor that of *mothers weeping*, *scattered forces*, *withered branches* to that of *âmāvistis*. The English examples correspond approximately to  $\cup\cup$  and  $\cup\cup\cup$ , just the schoolboy's erroneous reading of the Latin words instanced.

To Mr. Thomson triple time is normal, common unusual. Here he is with Lanier and against Miss Dabney. He is however in agreement with both as to the possibility of definite and exact representation of each syllable in a verse—a point in which Mr. Omond is far sounder. Mr. Thomson holds the astounding theory that most English verse (and prose) is in triple time; i. e., “each interval (between two accents) is felt to be occupied by sound-material, which, however variously divided into units, is exactly three times the length of one syllable taken as unit”. He does not tell us which syllable is to be taken as unit or how to estimate the length of this unit. His examples, however, show that he means *one of the syllables actually occurring in the interval between two accents*, not the ideal normal syllable. That is where he is in agreement with Lanier and Miss Dabney, and not with Mr. Omond whose time is measured in terms of the ideal normal syllable, however this is to be gauged, and for whom the several syllables actually occurring in the interval are not each necessarily or even usually capable of exact and definite, separate evaluation in terms of this unit. And apart from this matter of the measurement of the separate syllables, Mr. Thomson's view is still unacceptable. The stately blank verse is not to be included with the skipping Latin iambic under the common head of triple time. But still more incredible is the view that triple time verse still remains metrical in spite of “the occasional intrusion of common time.”

Mr. Thomson and Mr. Omond disagree as to the precise function of accent in verse. To Mr. Omond, as to Lanier, time is the essential of verse, and a verse consists of a number of isochronous periods (call them bars, feet, what you will), some or all of which are marked off by accent: but this marking off by accent is, so to speak, merely a convenience, not a necessity. “Those who make accent necessary to our recognition of rhythmical periods seem to me, says Mr. Omond, to mistake occasion for cause, and confuse the indicator with the thing indicated” (p. 25). It is indeed difficult to understand how Mr. Thomson can reconcile the existence of 5 bar verses with only 4 or even 3 accents with his insistence on the fundamental importance of accent. If accent serves merely to *exteriorize* a sufficient number of ictus to make the measure easily and clearly apparent,

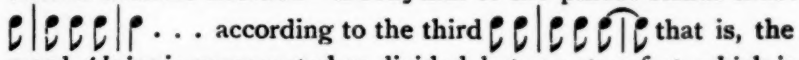
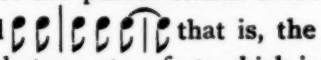
then of course the absence of one or even two in a five bar line is easily understood. And indeed Mr. Thomson considers such pentameters as

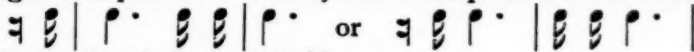
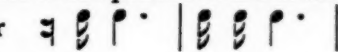
*A man is master of his liberty,  
The sea waxed calm and we discovered,  
Oh, thou art fairer than the evening star,*

as viciously read into tetrameters unless the unaccented ictus is brought out by an accent. "No doubt the accents on the naturally unaccented syllables must be gently dealt with, but they must be there. There must be at least a compromise between pure prose reading and strict adherence to verse scheme" (p. 49). A proper understanding of the real relation of ictus and accent would have obviated such an error. The question of a prose or a verse reading does not arise in this connection. But it does arise in connection with the *time* of syllables. Here in spite of what he says about *heel rhythm*, *head rhythm* and *heart rhythm*, Mr. Thomson is on safer ground than Mr. Omond. He reads his verse at least ideally as prose,—as prose in which the full logical and emotional value of the words is rendered: his examples however, as Mr. Omond says, "continually set aside the natural verse rhythm (or as I should put it, the full logical and emotional value) in favour either of mere prose (*read* the merely logical value), or of some supposed musical precedent". In his theory, if not in his practice, and especially not in the musical obsession that intrudes too often, Mr. Thomson is, I think, sound, despite Mr. Omond's criticism. But Mr. Thomson's reason for his answer is not as good as the answer itself. To Mr. Thomson (as to Prof. Charlton M. Lewis) verse and prose differ far less widely and definitely than Mr. Omond, e. g., would be ready to admit. "The recurrence of strong accents at equal distances of time runs, with trifling exceptions, through all verse, and is perpetually asserting itself, in a more or less modified form, in the language of prose and ordinary speech. In other words, *practically all verse and the bulk of prose is rhythmical*" (p. 11). Verse and prose differ in this particular that (p. 13) "in poetry, variation within the foot is limited; in prose it is free". This is essentially Prof. Lewis' position, and it is an untenable one, obliterating as it does the differences between prose and verse, and seeking to distinguish them by a test which can only properly distinguish *syllabic* and *non-syllabic* verse.

To read verse as prose, because it is merely prose somewhat circumscribed by minor conventions, is one thing, and to read verse as prose, because the poet, *qua* artist, has used the materials of prose speech, selected and arranged them to fit the metrical scheme he has adopted, is another thing. Mr. Omond's view makes a third: verse must be read as verse, and the words marshalled to the time the poet has chosen, in defiance, if need be, of their ordinary prose relations.


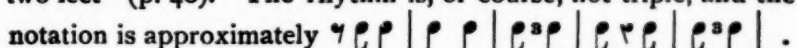
One more point calls for notice. Mr. Thomson will not hear of beginning his isochronous periods save on the ictus, following thus rigidly musical precedent. "Nearly all writers think it immaterial whether a foot, say a trisyllabic foot, is represented with the accent at the beginning, in the middle or the end" (p. 39) . . . This is quite a mistake. It is, of course, ridiculous to put the accent in the middle: as to the rest, it is a question of notation merely. Mr. Thomson takes as an instance the phrase *the hills and the plains* and declares: "According to the first—that is, to the normal musical notation—the rhythm of the phrase stands thus:

 . . . according to the third  that is, the word *plains* is represented as divided between two feet, which is absurd". Yes, it is absurd, but no more absurd than Mr. Thomson's argument. With triple time and arbitrary quantities anything can be proved. The rhythm of the phrase is much nearer:

 or 

both notations being applicable.

Mr. Thomson's clinching argument is drawn from the line "Of man's first disobedience and the fruit". With the bar ending on the ictus, Mr. Thomson turns this into the hideous abomination,

  
"where we have no fewer than five syllables, each divided between two feet" (p. 40). The rhythm is, of course, not triple, and the notation is approximately .

"It should now be plain that not only is the musician's application of musical symbols the rational one, but that it corresponds best with the facts and with the usage of the poets" (p. 40). All that is plain is the total inadequacy of the musical notation at all, and the absurdity of postulating triple time as normal in English verse.

T. B. RUDMOSE-BROWN.

LEEDS, August 14, 1908.

Herodotos: Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Dr. K. ABICHT.  
Dritte Band, Buch V und VI. Vierte verbesserte Auflage.  
Leipzig und Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner,  
1906.

After an interval of twenty-three years a revised (fourth) edition of the fifth and sixth books of Herodotus has been brought out by Abicht. In what does this fourth edition differ from the third, and how serviceable is the book for school or college use?



In the matter of text, a comparison of the lists (as given in the two editions by Abicht himself) of the most important readings incorporated into these editions, betrays the fact that, even to the editor's mind, the new edition varies little from the preceding. There are only five differences, as noted in these lists, and they all vanish when the texts themselves are compared. There are, however, a few minor differences which Abicht himself does not note and which it is not worth while to mention. Still, the new text does show an advance in one respect,—in the use of Ionic forms, especially in those of contract verbs. The verbs in *-αω* are now given in their contract forms and, instead of such forms as *ὀρέω, ὀρέων, αἰτιεύμενος*, etc., which appeared in the third edition, we find in the new edition *ὀρώ, ὀρῶν, αἰτιώμενος*, etc. The verbs in *-εω* are still regularly left uncontracted, though in the forms of the verb *ποιῶ (ποιέω)* Abicht gives in this last edition the contracted forms, as *ποιῶν, ποιεῖν, ποιεῖσθαι, ποιοῖμι, ποιοῖεν*, etc., changed from the reading of the third edition *ποιέων, ποιέειν, ποιέεσθαι, ποιοίμι, ποιόειεν*, etc. Besides, he occasionally gives contracted forms of other verbs as *ἐπινοῶ,<sup>1</sup> ἐξηγῆται.<sup>2</sup>* But he has not yet reached the same consistency in the *-εω* verbs that he has in the *-αω* verbs.

The new edition is somewhat more fully annotated than was the preceding, as is manifest from the increase in the total pages from 224 in the third edition to 233 in the fourth. There have been a few notes cut out or cut down, due principally to the changes in the reading of dialectic forms. In the main, the new or enlarged notes are in the line of immediate assistance to the reader. Headings of chapters are added or amplified; meanings of words or expressions are given; corresponding Attic forms are noted; additional references to a similar usage are given. The few long notes added of especial value are these.—V, 56, on Hippias and Hipparchus, with a quotation from Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.*; V, 77, on the inscription of the bronze chariot, of which fragments of the base have been found on the Acropolis of Athens containing a part of the inscription; V, 94, on Hegesistratus, the illegitimate son of Peisistratus, with a quotation from the *Ath. Pol.*; VI, 109, on the appointment of the archons by lot (where, however, Abicht asserts that the appointment by lot was introduced by Cleisthenes,—a statement not in harmony with the testimony of Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.*).

The notes of Abicht, it seems to me, are, in the main, of the right sort. They give the young student the necessary historical and geographical setting, and they help him by suggesting the meanings of words and expressions in the places where difficulties confront him most. The notes, too, are eminently sane. I might cite as instances VI, 44 where the note in regard to the monsters that devoured the men who were shipwrecked about Athos has the single word, "*Raubfische*"; and VI, 103 where, in com-

<sup>1</sup> V, 24.<sup>2</sup> VI, 74.



menting on the word *ἐξενείκασθαι*—where Cimon won a victory at the Olympic Games with his four-horse chariot—Abicht gives the natural explanation, "*νίκην ἐκφέρεισθαι* = reportare."

Still, there are many notes that are either of doubtful truth or not apposite, especially in the case of references. I will cite a few instances.

V, 1, *συνεβάλοντο*. Ab. says: "= *conicere*" (which is undoubtedly right); then he adds, "Ähnlich VI, 63, 65". In both of these passages, however, the verb means to "*count*" or to "*figure*", and not to "*conjecture*."

V, 24, *ὑπερβίωμαι*. Ab. says: "Mitteilen, anvertrauen . . . Das *Aktiv* in gleicher Bedeutung nur V, 32; I, 8". But in I, 8 the verb is *middle* and not *active*.

V, 27, *τελευτᾷ*. Ab. says: "Präsens historicum wie . . . VI, 126". But the verb in VI, 126 is not *τελευτᾷ* but *γίνεται* (the context of his note shows that he was citing this passage not merely for the usage of a historical present but for this very form *τελευτᾷ*).

V, 35, *μετήσεσθαι*. Ab. says: "Fut. *med.* in passiver Bedeutung wie . . . VI, 11, *ἐλασσώσεσθαι*". But in VI, 11 Ab. himself reads *ἐλασσώθησεσθαι*, *passive*.

V, 37, *ὥς ἄν*. Ab. says: "= *ὅπως ἄν*, auch I, 75 . . ." But in I, 75 the reading is *not* *ὥς ἄν*, but *ὅπως ἄν*.

V, 92, I, *ισοκρατίη*. Ab. says: "Vgl. *ἰσηγορίη* u. *ἰσονομίη* (sic) c. 78". But *ἰσονομίη* does not appear in V, 78, though it does in Abicht's note on the passage.

VI, 52, *βουλεύσαι*. Ab. says: "Häufiger ist in dieser Bedeutung bei den Attikern sowohl wie auch bei Her. das *Medium* (I, 73; III, 84)." But in I, 73, the *active* voice is used and not the *middle*.

VI, 58, *διαχρῶνται*. Ab. says: "Dieselbe Wendung VIII, 99." But in VIII, 99 the *simple* verb *χρῶμαι* is used and not the *compound*.

VI, 59, *ἐνίσταται*. Ab. says: "Für *ἐνίστασθαι* steht unten *κατίστασθαι* (*κατιστάμενος*) III, 66". But in III, 66 the reading is *ἐνεστεῶτα*, and not a form of *κατίστασθαι*.

VI, 92, *σφι*. Ab. says: "den Aigineten und *Argeiern*". Evidently it should be the *Sicyonians* and not the *Argives*.

This list is not exhaustive but might be extended considerably. Abicht avoids controversial argument, and this is necessary in a book intended for the younger students. But he also neglects valuable evidence. I have already noted his failure to refer to the testimony of Aristotle that the appointment of archons by lot was not introduced by Cleisthenes. Another instance of his positive statement of what he assumes to be an established fact is found in his note upon *Ἐννεάκρουνος*, VI, 137, where he says: "Die Quelle *Enneakrunos*, auch *Kallirrhoë* (noch heute *Kalirrhói*) genannt, liegt im Südosten der Stadt unweit vom *Ilissos* . . ." He disregards altogether the strong probability that the fountain was at the south-west of the *Areopagus*. A still more conspicuous instance

of his failure to accept—or at least to refer to—a well-established claim appears in his note to V, 83, where, in speaking of “οἷη”, he says: “Eine uralte, landeinwärts gelegene Stadt auf Aigina . . . Nicht weit von ihr stand der berühmte Tempel der Athene, von dem ebenfalls noch Trümmer vorhanden sind”. Furtwängler’s proof that this is the temple *not* of *Athena* but of *Aphaea* is wholly ignored. In these points of history, topography, and archaeology Abicht seems not to have brought his book up to date.

Typographically the book is open to some criticism. Of misprints, major and minor, I have seen about forty in the notes, and in the body of the text itself fifty-four. Of this latter number most are merely mistakes in breathings or accents or subscripts,—of no great consequence. Of the mistakes that involve a wrong letter I have noted the following:

V, 12, οἱ τι for ὁ τι; 15, ἐξεστρατεύσαντο for ἐξεστρατεύσαντο; 34, παρεσομένον for παρεσομένον; 52, παρασάγγαν for παρασάγγαι; 58, ἐρχῶντο for ἐχρῶντο; 72, τριηκοσίσι for τριηκοσίσι; 84, ἐπέτελεον for ἐπετέλεον.

VI, 8, νηρὰ for νησαί; 8, Δέσβιοι for Δέσβιοι; 27, νεηέων for νεηιέων; 33, Δασκυλείω for Δασκυλείω; 39, τὸν for τῶν; 51, Εὐρυσθένης for Εὐρυσθένης; 53, Ἀρκισίον for Ἀκρισίον; 57, ἦ for ἦν; 65, Λευτυγίδεω for Λευτυγίδεω; 66, Πυθίην for Πυθίην; 120, συμβολῆς for συμβολῆς; 130, μέσον for μέσον.

In quoting in the notes passages from Herodotus or other authors Abicht allows himself the greatest freedom. He omits words without giving any indication of their omission, changes the order, and alters the construction. His object is not to quote but to illustrate, and perhaps no great harm is done thereby. There is, however, one class of error in his notes that is most glaring and, to my mind, most significant in regard to the value of a particular kind of note. I mean the errors in the references, for purposes of illustration, to parallel passages. I have not attempted to verify the references of Abicht—outside of Herodotus—except for a few authors. I am keeping well within the mark, however, when I say that there are over 200 wrong references (including those to other parts of Herodotus). Where the passage itself is quoted, the mistake in the reference is not vital. But in many, very many, instances the reference is given without the quotation, and given wrongly.

Of the total wrong references noted, between 80% and 90% were wrong in the third edition—now twenty-three years old—and merely repeated in this new edition without any verification. Moreover, they were so given in the second edition, published ten years earlier. (I am sorry that I did not have at hand the first edition, to see if that, too, had the same mistakes). Now, these mistakes, though numerous, are not fatal for an edition. Why? Because, clearly enough, nobody pays any attention to these references. The teachers don’t, or else they would have informed Abicht at some time within the last thirty-three years. The boys don’t,

or else they would have told their teachers, who then would have sent the corrections to Abicht himself. Abicht evidently didn't verify for the third edition, which is nothing but the second edition republished with a very few minor changes. And he hasn't verified for this new edition. An editor would then, it appears, accomplish about as much if, when not quoting the words, he should say merely that this construction is found frequently or so many times in Herodotus. The references as given by Abicht are merely—like a person's name signed to a newspaper letter—a guarantee of good faith. But, if for any reason you look the matter up only to find that a wrong name has been given, your faith in the value of that particular guarantee is sadly shaken.

These various criticisms, however, affect merely details of the book and not its essence. With the limitation suggested, the book—if it could be in an English dress—would be a most serviceable edition for any young student of Herodotus.

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## REPORTS.

### ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Vol. XI. Second Part.

M. Niedermann. *Lupana*. *Lupanar*. The latter form might perhaps be applied to a person; cf. Germ. *Frauenzimmer*. Hence one should be cautious in emending *lupanar* to *lupanam* (Lact. Inst. 3. 21. 4), etc. *Lupana* occurs only in the gen. pl., which could come from *lupanar*, and in many cases with the variant *lupanarium*. If *lupana* is accepted, it may come from *lupa* and not from *lupanar*.

E. Wölfflin, *Zur Lex Manciana*. An examination of the Latinity of this inscription, found in Africa, and assigned to the time of Septimius Severus. *Zur Epitoma Livii*. Evidence from the language of the later historical writers that they derived their version of the story of Horatius Cocles not from Liv. 2. 10, but from the *Epitoma*. *Rectagonum*. A note on *Indoger*. *Forsch.* IX. 355.

J. Denk, *Abpono*. From the reading of the MSS in Apicius, ch. 65, cum semel fervuerit, abpones (appones), it is assumed that in later Latin *appono* might stand for *abpono*, instead of for *adpono*, as is regularly the case. A note by the Editor supports the conjecture *depono*. *Bestiosus* und *Serpentiosus*. These words, overlooked by the lexicographers, occur in Jul. Val. *Res Gestae Alex. Mac.*, p. 196, l. 27 and p. 209, l. 23 in Kübler's edition. K., however, does not include them in his *Index*. Inf. fut. pass. auf -uiri. An additional example from Apul. and three from Jul. Val. *Eques* = *equus*. Additional examples. The usage was noted by Kaulen, *Handb. zur Vulgata*, 1870.

Ov. *Densusianu*, *Comparare* = "kaufen". Some additions to the examples in Schuchardt, *Vokal*. I. 195, dating from the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.

A. Sonny, *Nachträgliches zu sopio -onis*. Reference to the note of Osthoff, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der deutschen Spr. und Litt.* XX. (1895) 93, with an additional example of the word.

H. Kirk, *Nachtrag zu etiam nunc*. A correction, with an additional example of temporal *etiam*.

277-297. Review of the Literature for 1897, 1898.

298-299. Necrology. Otto Ribbeck.

300. E. Wölfflin, *Vom Thesaurus*. Report of progress.

301-331. W. Heraeus, *Die Appendix Probi*. A new recension, based on the text of Foerster in *Wiener Studien*, XIV. 294, and the article of Gundermann in *Zeitsch. f. franz. Spr. und Litt.* XV. 184, with a commentary.

332. W. M. Lindsay, *Lucuns*. *Lucuntulus*. *Lucuns* is connected by Keller, *Volksetym.* 85 with *γλυκοῦς*, influenced by *lūceo* and *lūcidus*. L. shows that the *u* is short and suggests that *lucuns* is a loan-word from *λυκόεις* = *λυκοειδής*. An older form is *lucuens*, and the diminutive has the forms *lucuentulus* and later *lucuntulus*.

333-350. J. H. Schmalz, *Donec und Dum* (bis zu den august. Dichtern einschliesslich). I. *Donec*. Discussion of the various forms and of the derivations, of which *do-ne-cum* = "until when not" is preferred. The subordinate use is regarded as the earlier. Originally *donec* meant only "until". The meaning "as long as" occurs first in *Lucr.* It seems never to have acquired the meaning "while". *Dum*, *donec* and *quoad* are variously preferred and avoided by different writers. The mood with *donec* = "until" is the indic., and the tenses are commonly the perf. and the fut. perf.; the pres. and the fut. are rare, and the imperf. very rare. The pluperf. is not found at all. The subjunctive is found as early as *Plaut.*, but in early Latin *dum* is preferred with the subj. and *donec* with the fut. indic. The subj. is oblique, final, iterative, or prospective. Many writers use only the subj. with *donec*, and in late Latin without apparent reason. With *donec* = "as long as" we regularly have the indicative. When the subjunctive is used it is oblique or iterative; so in *Liv.* 21. 28. 10. As a coordinate conjunction first in *Lucr.*, then in *Petr.*; often in *Liv.* and *Tac.* with the value of *cum inversum*. A correlative particle is often used in the main clause, whence *usque donec*, *usque adeo donec*, etc. A summary of the uses in the various writers of the period follows. 2. *Dum*. The acc. sing. from the pronominal stem *do*, originally as an adverb. The use as a conjunction arises by the suppression of *dum* in the second member of such sentences as *Catull.* 42. 45. In *Plaut.* and *Ter.* *dum* is commonly used with the pres. indic. *Dum* = "until" referring to the past, is not found in early Latin. *Dum* = "while" is not found in *Plaut.* and *Ter.* with the imperf. or pluperf. Of action coextensive with that of the main clause the pres. is used even when the action extends into the future. Referring to past time the imperf. occurs three times, the perf. more frequently. With reference to future time the fut. is used and in the main clause the fut. or a form with future meaning, rarely the pres. Of actions not coextensive the hist. pres. is used. The perf. is rare; in *Plaut.* it is found only when *dum* = *cum*. With *dum* = "until" we usually have the pres. (sometimes with future force), with isolated cases of the fut. or fut. perf. The pres. subj. is also found, especially in the third pers. In the first pers. the



indic. is usual, while both are found in the second. The imperf. subj. sometimes occurs through the sequence of tenses. Conditional *dum* comes from the temporal use. It always has subj. and neg. *ne*. *Dum* final, causal and consecutive also occur. Correlative words are sometimes found in both main and subordinate clause. A summary of the usage of the writers of the period follows, and one of the uses of *dum* in inscrr., based on Bücheler's Anthol.

351-360. M. Pokrowskij, *Glossographisches und Linguistisches zum Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum* von G. Götz. Additions and corrections.

360. L. Havet, *Moraclum*. In *Plaut. Trin.* 1108 would read this word for *morae*, with the addition of *abi*. Some addition is required also with *morae*.

361-368. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Latinität des Jordanes*. J. was influenced by Verg., whom he quotes three times, besides showing traces of his vocabulary. In phrases of two words taken from Verg. he does not change the order, as Tac. does. He also borrows longer phrases, sometimes misunderstanding his original. He has read the *Georg.* and *Aen.*, and hence had the regular school training. He also shows reminiscences of *Bibl. Lat.*, of *Sall.*, and of *Cassiod.* An investigation of his language should be based, not on the colloquial language of the day, but on that of the authors read in the schools. Hence many of the examples cited by Mommsen are not significant. A comparison of his language with that of *Florus* shows interesting divergencies.

369-393. Wölfflin-Meader, *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa*. A summary of the dissertation of Meader, with additions. See C. L. Meader, *The Latin Pronouns Is, Hic, Iste, Ipse*: New York, Macmillan, 1901.

394. R. Fuchs, *Zeugma*. Cites a remarkable example from *Theod. Prisc., Logicus*, 65: *hos . . . unctionibus et gestationibus vel fricationibus . . . mediocriter perungimus*.

395-404. Long-Wölfflin, *Quotiens, quotienscumque, quotiensque*; Summary of the dissertation of Long, with additions. See O. F. Long, *On the Usage of Quotiens and Quotienscumque in Different Periods of Latin*: Baltimore, John Murphy Co., 1901.

405-417. C. E. Bennett, *Die mit tamquam und quasi eingeleiteten Substantivsätze*. Commonly confused with the causal clauses with *tamquam* and *quasi*. The use of the former in this way developed during the first and second centuries, A. D. A chronological list is given from *Sen. Rh.* to *Apul.*, with nouns, verbs and adverbs. The earliest instance is perhaps found in *Nep. Ham. 2. 2*, where B. would read *tamquam sentiret*. The usage is derived not from the causal, but from the comparative

clause. The substantive clause with *quasi* appears in archaic Latin, especially after *simulo* and compounds. These clauses differ, however, from those of Silver Lat. in being objective, while the latter are subjective.

417. Eb. Nestle, *Velum*. This word early made its way into Syrian and Aramaic. A new example is cited from *Epist. Jeremiae* (6th chap. of Book of Baruch in the Latin editions of the Bible), where the god Βῆλον is taken for βῆλον = *velum*.

418. E. Wölfflin, *Diploma femin.* Occurs in *Wilmanns*, 589. 6 = *CIL. VIII. 1027*, as observed by *Bücheler*, *Carm. lat. Epigr.* 484. Examples of *schema* and *cataplasma* as feminines are also given.

419-430. *Miscellen.* M. Maas, *Die neuen Juvenalverse*. The lines discovered by *Winsted* in *cod. Bodl. Canon.* 41, which M. regards as genuine, are translated with a commentary. Since no mention of them is found in the *Panormia* of *Osbernus*, they must have been lost before the publication of that work.

E. Wölfflin, *Laetodorus*. Not a hybrid, but = *Letodorus*; cf. *Apollodorus* and *Artemidorus*.

H. Blumner, *Was bedeutet replumbare?* Defends his view that it refers to the loosening of soldering, against E. Pernice.

O. Schlutter, *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*.

J. Denk, *Lesefrüchte*. Examples of *abditare*, *devotiosus*, *Latinizo*, *medica* = *obstetrix*, *bestiosus*, and *serpentiosus*.

Fr. Skutsch, *Em.* Regards *em* as an imperative of *emere* (cf. *dic*, etc.), since in *Plaut.* and *Ter.* it is used only with the sing., and is never elided. *Praedo*, "Jäger". Apparently found in *Claudian.* *Fescenn.* 1. 11. The meaning is a natural one in view of *praeda* = "Jagdbeute". *Almen* = *alimentum*. In *cod. Salmasianus Poet. lat. min.* IV. 394 B. = *Anth.* p. 255 f. R.

E. Wölfflin, *Eine echt taciteische Wendung*. Examples from other writers of the rhetorical device in *Tac. Hist.* 1. 81 *cum timeret Otho, timebatur*, cited by F. Münzer under the above caption.

W. Otto, *Simulter*. In *Itala, Marc.* 12. 22 would read for *si mulier mortua est et mulier sine filis* of *cod. K.* *simulter mortua est*. *Simulter* is the reading in *Plaut. Pseud.* 362, according to *Nonius* (170).

431-450. Review of the Literature for 1898, 1899.

450. *Turiner Preis* von 30,000 Fr. *Vom Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

451-452. W. Heraeus, *Zu der Appendix Probi. Index der getadelten Vulgärformen*.

453-467. H. Krüger, *Bemerkungen über den Sprachgebrauch der Kaiserkonstitutionen im Codex Justinianus*. See ALL. X. 247. A brief notice of Longo's *Vocabolario delle costituzioni latine di Giustiniano* is followed by some observations on the language used by the emperors represented in the Cod. Just. with particular reference (1) to words and usages which were current in earlier times, but were afterwards given up; and words favored or avoided by individual emperors; and (2) to words characterized by peculiar and unusual meanings.

467. C. Wagener, *Neue Traktate Novatians*. The supposed translation of a hitherto unknown work of Origen, published by Msgr. Pierre Batiffol under the title *Tractatus Originis de libris ss. scripturarum*, is in reality a collection of 20 homilies of Novatianus.

469-490. Edwards-Wölfflin, *Von dem sogenannten Genetivus und Ablativus qualitatis*. A continuation of the article on pp. 197 ff.

490. L. Havet, *Quodie*. This form, preceded by a feminine dies, is found in Cic. de dom. 45. See ALL. I. 389.

491-501. F. Glöckner, *Ne und num*. The usual view as to the meaning of these particles in direct and indirect questions is not of universal application. Would derive *nē* from the asseverative *nē*, not from the negative *nē*. Num is a weak form of *nunc* (*nuv*); like *cum*, it has temporal, consecutive, and modal uses, of which examples are given.

501-502. Eb. Nestle, *Vas, Plural vases*. In \*Eccli. (Sirach) 6. 31 *et bases virtutis* is for *et vases virtutis*, of which the preceding *in protectionem fortitudinis* is a correction. In \*Sir. 27. (6) 5, for *apronia* would read *copria*.

503-514. E. Wölfflin, *Hexameter und silberne Prosa*. The language of the poets is undoubtedly affected by the demands of the metre, although the explanation "*metri causa*" may be pushed too far. Proper names offer special difficulties which are met sometimes by license in the use of quantity (*Italia*, *Macēdonia*) or by substitution (*Emathia* and *Thessalia* = *Macedonia*). Besides this, metrical considerations led to innovations in vocabulary and in syntax, which were taken into Silver and later prose without a similar justification.

514. *Funerare in der Epitoma Livii*. In Liv. 2. 33. 11 and in the *Periocha* we have *extulit* in the account of the funeral of Menenius Agrippa. Val. Max. (4. 4. 2) drew his *funeratus est* from the *Epitome*.

515-536. O. Hey, *Euphemismus und Verwandtes im Lateinischen*. Euphemism by *aposiopesis* or by the use of foreign (Greek) words occurs, but did not affect the Latin language. The formation of new words or changes in the meanings of those already in existence are due to: 1) necessity and 2) subjective

grounds. Euphemism belongs to the second group and in genuine euphemism the grounds are shame and fear; when they are irony or ridicule, we do not have true euphemism. To fear are due euphemisms relating to disease and death; this is extended to matters which are merely unpleasant: danger, exile, debt, denial of requests, and the like. Based on shame are the euphemisms relating to sexual matters and the necessities of nature; this form is extended to ugliness, drunkenness, and the like. Many examples of each class are given.

537-544. E. Wölfflin, Campana, Glocke. Species, Spezerei. Other words for bell are *clocca*, Fr. *la cloche*, and *signum*. Campana, which is the basis of the Ital. and Span. words, is found for the first time in this sense in Ferrandus (515 A. D.). It is formed by ellipsis from Campana vasa, with the familiar change of a n. pl. to a fem. sing. In Plin. NH. 18. 360 the word does not have this meaning, but its usual one of Campana vasa. Species originally meant the finished product as opposed to the raw material (*materia*). In Cic. it includes oil, wine, and grain, and it was finally extended to include all kinds of wares. It *specierie*, = fr. *épicerie*, was not developed in Latin, since the *taberna specieria* was not known to the Romans, but the different products were sold each in its own shop.

545-576. C. Weyman, Der tractatus Origenis de libris ss. scripturarum ein Werk Novatians. The statement made about this work on p. 467 above, is supported by a detailed comparison of the language and style of the tractatus with the De Trin. and the De cibis Iudaicis of Novatianus. There are added numerous notes on the text of the tractatus.

577. A note on the above article by the editor of the ALL. on the use of particles in the works under consideration.

578. L. Havet, Aleari. Suggests *te aleari* for *tete amari* in Ter. Ad. \*33; cf. Landgraf on *aleatur* ] *cotizat*, ALL. IX. 363.

579-585. Miscellen. L. Havet, Multo tanta plus, bis tanta plus. In the former of these phrases tanta, which has good MS authority, should not be changed to tanto in Plaut. Merc. 680, etc. The expression originated in ellipsis, multo tanta (*pecunia pluris vendidi*). Perhaps bis tanta should be read in \*Ter. Ad. 56.

B. Maurenbrecher, Em bei Plautus und Terenz. Takes exception to the statements of Skutsch (p. 429 above) that *em* is used only with the sing., citing Merc. 313 and Poen. 726; and that it is never elided, citing Bacch. 274, Eun. 459 and 472, etc.

F. Skutsch, Promulsis. Denies the long *i* in *promulside conficere* (Cic. Epist. IX. 20. 1), assumed by Bornecque on rhythmical grounds. Shows that short *i* is demanded also by grammatical considerations.

O. Plasberg, *Turdus* = *turgidus*. In the *Theriaca* of Aemilius Macer, ap. \*Charis. i. 81. 19 K., would read *turdo* for *tundo* *resonantia sibila collo*. *Turdo* : *turgidus* = *caldus* : *calidus*, etc. Cf. *tardus* = \**targidus* (*traho*), Osthoff, M. U., V. 106.

J. Cserép, *Elementum*. Suggests a Semitic origin for the word. Doubted by the editor of ALL. on chronological and other grounds.

A. Zimmermann, *Zur Etymologie von donec and secus*. Additional arguments for the etymologies of these words proposed in ALL. IV. 602 ff.

586-610. Review of the Literature for 1899, 1900.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LXIII (1908).

Pp. 1-11. *Lucianea*. H. von Herwerden. Textual notes on the new Teubner edition of Lucian by Nils Nilén, Vol. I, Part 1.

Pp. 12-38. *Zur Komposition der altattischen Komödie*. Wilhelm Süß. I. A study of the rôle of the *βαμολόχος* in Aristophanes. Sometimes, as in the *Peace*, *Acharnians* and *Clouds*, the principal character is himself the *βαμολόχος*, in other plays we have merely an actor making more or less amusing comments on a dialogue between two other people. In the *Lysistrata*, lines 535-38 should not be assigned to *Lysistrata*, but to a new speaker. Line 308 of the *Frogs* refers to the *πρακτός* of Dionysus. In the *Peace*, lines 433-38 should be assigned to *Hermes*, lines 439-40 to *Trygaios*. II. Criticism of Zielinski's theory as to the occasional lack of an *ἀγών*. III. Contrast of the *ἀγών* with the burlesque scenes.

Pp. 39-57. *Buchwesen und Bauwesen: Trajanssäule und delphische Schlangensäule*. Th. Birt. Supplementary notes to the author's 'Buchrolle'. The form of the ancient book is often reflected in ancient rhetoric and imagery: for instance, in such expressions as *γενήσεται ὡς χαρτίον ἢ γῆ*, *explicare aciem*, *ἀναπτύσσειν τὴν φύλαγγα*, in the use of 'pagina' to denote the inside wall of a public building, in the expression *σελίδες θεάτρου* (which seems to mean the 'cunei', not the rows of seats). It had its influence, too, on ornamental architecture: for instance, in the Ionic frieze, in the Column of Trajan, in the Delphic Serpent-Column at Constantinople. These two columns may be regarded as artistic imitations of the Spartan *σκυτάλη*.

Pp. 58-78. *Hellenistische Beiträge* (continued from Vol. LXII, p. 591). III. *Kleitarchos*. Fr. Reuss. Further argument (see Rh. Mus. 57, 582) in support of the author's thesis that *Kleitarchos* was not a contemporary of Alexander, but belonged to the later Hellenistic period.



Pp. 79-106. Vergil und die Ciris. Paul Jahn. This article points to Virgil himself as quite possibly the author of the Ciris. The poem is apparently earlier than Ovid, Met. VIII, and Propertius, V 4, 39. It contains much that is found also in Virgil, but Virgil often borrows from himself. Moreover, it has a quite remarkable number of parallels in two poems of the Catalepta: XI (which is likewise dedicated to a Messala) and XII.

Pp. 107-126. Die epische Zerdehnung. Hugo Ehrlich. Criticism of the theories of Wackernagel, Danielsson, and others. Such forms as ὀρόω, ὀρόωρες, are not due to the Rhapsodists, but were a characteristic feature of the oldest Ionic dialect.

Pp. 127-151. Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften (continued from Vol. LXII, p. 590). Hugo Rabe. V. Des Diakonen und Logotheten Johannes Kommentar zu Hermogenes Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος. A new commentary from a Vatican MS of the fourteenth century. Rabe prints a few pages from the beginning, and gives an outline of the remainder. [The portion printed contains some new fragments of Euripides.]

Miscellen.—P. 152. J. M. Stahl. Methana bei Thukydides. In V 45, 2, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Μέθανα τὴν μεταξὺ Ἐπιδάουρου καὶ Τροιζήνος, the name Μέθανα means the whole peninsula, not merely the town. The τὴν refers to a γῆν to be understood after Τροιζήνος.—Pp. 152-155. F. Buecheler. Procopiana. Textual notes.—Pp. 155-157. Fr. von Velsen. Zu Horaz Serm. II 1, 86. 'Tabulae' means "die im Prozesse vorgelegten Beweisurkunden", in this case, "das den Beweis enthaltende Schmähdgedicht". And the whole line may mean: "die Strafthat wird durch das Lachen gesühnt werden, du wirst dann straffrei entlassen".—Pp. 157-158. J. H. Lipsius. Zu Valerius Flaccus. The Codex Sangallensis and the Codex Vaticanus seem to be two copies of a common original.—Pp. 158-160. Franz Rühl. Q. Curtius über den indischen Kalender. The month of 15 days (VIII 9, 35 f.) means the 'paksha' of 15 'tithi'. The words "cum orbem sidus implevit" mean "wenn das Gestirn seine Bahn vollendet hat."

Pp. 161-189. Corinnae quae supersunt. W. Crönert. Critical edition of the fragments of Corinna, including the papyrus discovered at Hermupolis in 1906.

Pp. 190-196. Prosopographica. F. Buecheler. The Βεργίνιος 'Ρούφος of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, De Anima, p. 151, may be the Verginius Rufus of Pliny, Ep. II 1. The Attius Labeo mentioned in a Sabine inscription, Not. d. Scavi, 1900, p. 150, 2, may have been the grandfather of the Attius Labeo of Persius' first Satire. The Hostius Capito of CIL. XIV 4201 may be the Capito of Seneca, Contr. X, praef. 12. The Cornelius Vitalis of CIL. VI 4924 and 34932 lived about the reign of Claudius. The Auxentius who built a bridge across the Cydnus (Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 2615) is the Auxentius mentioned by Symmachus, who

built a bridge across the Tiber about the year 385. In Stobaeus, Flor. IV 45, p. 230 H, Κορνηλιανὸν κατὰ Βερονίκης, the Cornelianus is the famous rhetorician of the reign of Marcus and Verus; the Beronice is the Berenice of Juvenal, Sat. VI 156. From Corp. Gloss. Lat. VI, p. 620, we get the name of a Julius Suavis who discussed the form of the 'laena'. He seems to have been later than Verrius and earlier than Suetonius. Possibly he was the Julius Suavis of CIL. X 8058, 43. The Tutilius mentioned by Pliny, Ep. VI 32, 1, may be a different person from the rhetorician Tutilius mentioned by Quintilian III 1, 21. Cp. CIL. VI 9785: C. Tutilio Hostiliano philosopho Stoico, etc. The Mavortius of CIL. XIV 4178 is Romulus (Quirinus).

Pp. 197-223. Panaitios und die attische Stoikerinschrift. C. Cichorius. The Σπόριος Ῥωμαῖος of this inscription (I. G. II 953) may be Spurius Mummius, and the archonship of Lysiades may mean the year 139/38. The group of names at the end (Poseidonios, Aristarchos, and Apollodoros) suggests a date later than the banishment of the philosophers from Alexandria in 145.

Pp. 224-234. Bencius Alexandrinus und der Cod. Veronensis des Ausonius. R. Sabbadini. Between 1313 and 1320 Bencius composed a long general chronicle, in which he quoted from two books of Ausonius, the Ordo urbium nobilium and the Ludus septem sapientum. These he found in a single manuscript at Verona, though according to Schenkl's division of the MSS they belong to two different classes. Sabbadini collates the quotations with other MSS and with Peiper's text.

Pp. 235-238. Die Platon-Handschrift α. H. Rabe. Notes on a Vatican MS of the tenth century. It contains marginal variants by three different hands, of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The variants to Leg. I and V are reported here.

Pp. 239-253. Plutarchstudien. K. Ziegler. I. The 'Epistle of Lamprias' is a forgery of the fourteenth century. II. On the earliest collection of the Lives. Recent studies have shown that our text goes back to two early collections, one in two volumes, the other in three. The three-volume collection was the older.

Pp. 254-259. Eine altfalskische Vaseninschrift. C. Thulin. This comes from the necropolis of Civita Castellana (Monumenti antichi d. Lincei IV 339). Thulin thinks, after a careful examination of the writing and of the words, that it is a genuine inscription of the sixth century, or earlier. The last word *doviad* = *duat duit*. Compare Umbr. *pur-dovitu* 'porricito', Gr. δοφειναι-δοῦναι, Lat. *cre-duam*.

Pp. 260-266. Textkritisches zu Diodor in Anlehnung an die Excerpta Vaticana. H. Kallenberg. The Codex Florentinus of Diodorus deserves more consideration than it has received of late.

Pp. 267-282. Das Leben des Dichters Porphyrius. Otto Seeck. An African, perhaps a Carthaginian; removed to Rome in 317; accompanied the expedition against the Sarmatae in 322. In 326 he was in exile; in 329 and again in 333 he was praefect of the city.

Pp. 283-303. Die Perikeiromene. S. Sudhaus. Textual notes on (1) the trochaic scene of the second act (398-439), (2) the tumult before Moschion's house (435-487). Comment on the first act. Textual notes on fragment K, on the closing act of the Samia, and on fragment Q of the *Ἐπιτεροντες*.

Pp. 304-310. Johannes des Mildtätigen Leben des heiligen Tychon. A. Brinkmann. Textual notes.

Miscellen.—Pp. 311-312. P. Thielscher. Manilius I 25-29. Interpretation of the text as given by the Codex Lipsiensis.—Pp. 312-313. L. Radermacher. *ὡς ὁμοίως* und Verwandtes. Such expressions as *ὡς ὁμοίως*, in the sense of *ὁμοίως*, are not confined to Phoibammon (Rh. Mus., 1906, p. 124). Vettius Valens has *ὡς ἐναλλάξ* and *ὡς παντελῶς*.—Pp. 313-316. M. P. Nilsson. Zu *Zeὺς Καραβάτης*. A study of a new inscription (BSA. X 172), and of a passage in Athenaeus, XII, p. 522.—Pp. 316-319. F. Bücheler. Zum Stadtrecht von Bantia. The words in line 31 of the Tabula Bantina, *acunum VI nesimum*, mean *annum VI proximum*.—P. 319. M. Ihm. Civitas Baesarenensis. Darenus.—Pp. 319-320. W. Vollgraff. Das Alter der neolithischen Kultur in Kreta. The excavators at Knossos report a neolithic stratum of débris 6½ m. deep, lying 5.33 m. below the present level of the hill. Evans sets the close of the neolithic period at 4000 B. C., which means an average rise of level since that time of a little less than a metre in a thousand years. At the same rate of accumulation the neolithic stratum would represent a period of about 6000 years. Evans, however, thinks it probable that the rise of level was considerably slower in the earlier period—while the settlement was smaller—and so sets the beginning of the neolithic settlement at 12000 (or even 14000) B. C. But surely the accumulation of débris on the site would be faster in the earlier period—when there were no house walls of stone, and the dwellings were probably built of sun-baked brick. For the Egyptian towns, where such brick dwellings were in use, Flinders Petrie reckons an average rise of level of half a metre a century; for Syria, even a much faster rate. Reckoned by the Egyptian standard, the neolithic stratum at Knossos would represent a period of about 1300 years, and the beginning of the settlement would be brought down to 5300 B. C.

Prefixed to the third number of this volume is a brief obituary notice of Professor FRANZ BUECHLER (1837-1908). He was a contributor to the Museum for a full half-century, and for thirty-two years he was one of its ablest editors.

Pp. 321-328. Saturnier des Tuditanus cos. 625/129. F. Bücheler. Study of a fragmentary inscription recently found at Aquileia, with an attempt at its restoration. The Tuditanus is the C. Sempronius who conquered the Iapudes.

Pp. 329-340. Ein dorisches Komödienbruchstück. F. Solmsen. Study of a fragment of the *Πόλεις* of Philyllios, quoted by Pollux, X 58. This should be printed, *ἐς τὰς πινακίδος δ' ἀμπερίως* *δοι κα λέγοι | τὰ γράμμαθ', ἐρμάνευε*. Note the form *ἐς* for *ἐκ*, before a consonant, and the use of the optative with *κα* in a subordinate sentence.

Pp. 341-369. Zur Kritik und Exegese der Frösche des Aristophanes. A. Roemer. Discussion of lines 924 (for *μεσοίη* read *τελοίη*), 837, 1056, 849, 838 (cp. Agam. 859 ff.), 799, 756, 826, 906, 1204 ff., 807, 909, 790.

Pp. 370-391. Die Hellenika von Oxyrhynchus. A. v. Mess. The new fragments of Greek history published in the fifth volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri cannot be the work of Theopompus. They may be, as Blass believed, the work of Cratippus.

Pp. 392-405. De epitaphio Senecae. E. Bickel. This little poem (Anthol. Lat. 667 Riese) cannot be a genuine composition of Seneca. The sentiment points to some later Christian writer.

Pp. 406-418. Nochmals in-privativum im Lateinischen. M. Pokrowskij. Support of an earlier article on the same subject (Rh. Mus. LII 427-434). It is highly improbable that such forms as *indecent* are due to the influence of such forms as *indecentis*. In Livy, XXII 23, 8, *inviolatus ab = qui inviolatus manserat sive relictus erat*. In German one can say: er verkaufte das vom Feinde unbeschädigt gelassene (oder: gebliebene) Gut.

Pp. 419-422. Euripideum. H. Rabe. The writer has discovered a missing leaf of Codex B (= Vat. 909) containing lines 899-940 of the Rhesus. Here he collates it with Nauck's text, Leipsic, 1891. B seems to have stopped at line 940, even in the 14th century. Pal. 98 is a copy of B as far as 940, with the closing lines (941-996) taken from another manuscript.

Pp. 423-444. Die Beziehungen der älteren attischen Uebergabe- und Rechnungsurkunden zu einander. W. Bannier. Continued from Rh. Mus. LXI 202-231.

Pp. 445-464. Motiv und Persönlichkeit. L. Radermacher. I. Discussion of the story and of the name of Margites (cp. Rh. Mus. LIX 314). The name means 'Dümmling.'

Pp. 465-471. Das Mosaikrelief. R. Engelmann. The writer returns to the subject of an earlier article (Rh. Mus. 1874, Vol. XXIX 561-589), and still insists, as before, that mosaic reliefs were unknown in ancient Rome.



Miscellen.—Pp. 472-475. A. Elter. Canius a Gadibus und Livius Poenus. Both Teuffel and Schanz speak of a Latin poet Canius a Gadibus, as mentioned by St. Jerome, Ep. 49. Their reference seems to be due to Hertz, who gave the number of the epistle as he found it in a Leyden MS. But his epistle 49 turns out to be the famous *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum ne ducat uxorem*, written apparently about 1200 (Migne XI 254). The passage in question is found in chap. 17: Canius a Gadibus, poeta facundiae lenis et iocundae, reprehensus est a Livio Poeno, gravi et uxorato historiographo, quod multarum gauderet amoribus, his verbis, etc. The Canius must be Canius Rufus, the friend of Martial, mentioned, e. g., I 61, 9, *gaudent iocosae Canio suo Gades*. And the reprehensus est a Livio Poeno may be due to another line in the same poem, *censetur Apona (= a pona, a Poeno) Livio*.—Pp. 475-476. Marie Gothein. Der Titel von Statius' *Silvae*. "Der Leser soll im Schatten der wohlgepflegten Bosquets auf bequemen Wegen sich an den anmutigen Gaben des Dichters erfreuen."—Pp. 476-479. Otto Seeck. Die Quinquennalfeiern des Licinius (in the year 313).—Pp. 479-480. F. Buecheler. Zur lat. Seemannssprache. *Tutarchus*, Hygin. Fab. 14, is a Latinized form of *τοῖχαρχος* (*túcarcus*, *tutarcus*). *Trierarchus* is contracted to *triarchus* (CIL. X 7291), or *trierchus* (CIL. VIII 7030). So *nauarchus* seems to have been shortened sometimes to *nauchus*.

Pp. 481-487. Die Abfassungszeit der *Alexandra*. S. Sudhaus. The poem seems to have been written soon after the second Macedonian war and the proclamation of the freedom of Greece.

Pp. 488-494. Das 68. Gedicht Catulls. A. v. Mess. A defence of the unity of the poem. Lines 41 ff. are a genuine erotic elegy—an attempt to comply with the request mentioned in line 10.

Pp. 495-511. Alkidamas und Platon als Gegner des Isokrates. Hans Raeder. Alles ist dunkel und unsicher.

Pp. 512-530. Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften. Hugo Rabe. (Continued from p. 151). VI. Weitere Textquellen für Johannes Diakonos. VII. Georgios. VIII. Konstantin Laskaris und der Christophoros-Kommentar.

Pp. 531-558. Motiv und Persönlichkeit. (Continued from p. 464). L. Radermacher. II. Die Büsser Vergils. The poet was not bound to adhere strictly to tradition in the assignment of punishments. Some of his punishments may reflect popular notions of *ματαιοπονία*, such as abound in Greek and German proverb and story. In line 586 the *dum*-clause should explain the nature of *Salmoneus'* punishment in Hades. He seems to have been condemned to some form of punishment which would suggest the nature of his offence.

Pp. 559-586. Eideshelfer im griechischen Rechte. R. M. E. Meister. The practice of compurgation was known in Locris, in



Crete, in the Aeolian Kyme and in the Egyptian Thebes. Cojurors might be brought in to support either the plaintiff or the defendant.

Pp. 587-604. *Caesars Anticato und Ciceros Cato*. A. Dyroff. Conjecture as to the nature of Caesar's attack.

Pp. 605-617. *Die Inselfahrt der Ciris*. R. Reitzenstein. A study of this passage leads to the conclusion that neither Gallus nor Virgil is the author of the poem.

Pp. 618-623. *Die Homer-Metaphrasen des Prokopios von Gaza*. A. Brinkmann. Parallels to the sentiment of Sarpedon, II. XII 322-328.

Miscellen.—Pp. 624-625. Th. Gomperz. Zu Herodot II 16. Read ἢ γὰρ δὴ for οὐ γὰρ δὴ, as the writer suggested twenty-five years ago.—Pp. 625-626. Th. Gomperz. War Archimedes von königlichem Geblüte?—Pp. 626-627. J. M. Stahl. Zu Fragmenten des Euripides. Textual notes on two new fragments published by H. Rabe, pp. 145 and 148 of this volume.—Pp. 627-630. R. Asmus. Zur Textkritik von Julian. Or. IV.—P. 631. A. Brinkmann. Zu Julians IV Rede.—Pp. 632-633. G. Némethy. Tibulliana. In I 6, 56 admittas has the meaning of virum ad se admittere: cp. Ov., Am. I 8, 53; Prop. III 21, 7. In II 2, 7, for puro read Surio. With II 3, 4, verbaque aratoris, compare Ov., Pont. I 8, 55-58. Et discam, Getici quae norunt verba iuvenci, Adsuetas illis adiciamque minas. With II 3, 71-72 compare Lucr. V 962.—Pp. 633-635. Ch. Huelsen. Ein Vers des Martial und eine stadtrömische Grabschrift. Housman's conjecture Sattiae, III 93, 20 is confirmed by CIL. VI 9590.—Pp. 635-636. Karl Meiser. Zu Juvenal 15, 90. For autem read audi.—Pp. 636-639. Hugo Ehrlich. König Ogygos. Φωγ-ύγ-ιος is a reduplicated form from the same stem as θυ-ρός. For the difference in quantity, compare αἰ-γυπίος with γύψ, στύφελός with στύφω.—Pp. 639-640. Eb. Nestle. Stöcke mit Schlangenhaut (Zu S. 54f.). Of snake skins drawn over a stick, not wound about it.—P. 640. A. Elter. Zusatz zu o. S. 472. The MSS reading apono, Mart. I 61, 3, should have been mentioned on p. 474. As for the passage quoted from the Epistola ad Rufinum, Rehdigeranus 130 has Ruptis huic mars reticulis, instead of hinc M. r. testiculis.

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### BRIEF MENTION.

Travellers in Greece are apt to complain of the monotony of Easter lamb as an article of diet. I remember especially one dinner at Megalopolis, every course of which—and there were several—consisted of the Paschal *arnaki*; and mindful of that surfeit when the keeper of the khan at Diakophto, where I waited four mortal hours for my train to Patras, offered to slaughter for my mid-day meal one of the innocent creatures cropping the flowery food in the adjacent field, I declined the sacrifice. To the recent traveller through the Journal Greek syntax may well have taken the place of the Easter lamb, and my articles on Stahl must have seemed not unlike the three-course dinner at Megalopolis. And yet something must be done with the ever accumulating literature, and I am tempted to mention first as a bit of what I call organic work a dissertation by KARL REIK, *Der Optativ bei Polybios und Philo von Alexandria* (Berlin, Fock). Under this unalluring title Dr. REIK has given us an excellent object lesson in the vernacular and the artificial use of the optative, as shown by the difference between Polybios and Philo in this regard. Polybios, following the trend of his times, in which the mood was declining, rather underdoes the optative though he uses it idiomatically. Philo overdoes it as a *nouveau riche* might overdo caviare and pâté de foie gras (A. J. P. IV 428; XXIII 131).

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In the IGF. XXIII, S. 165 ff., SCHLACHTER continues his interesting statistical studies in the tenses and moods and passes from Homer to Herodotos (cf. A. J. P. XXIX 243), but I have only room for a bare summary of his results. (1) The uniformity of the usage in the several books. (2) The relative increase of the impersonal moods as compared with Homer, notably the loss in subjunctives and optatives. (3) Whereas the aoristic forms dominate in Homer, the durative <paratatic> forms dominate by far in Herodotos except in the subjunctive <an exception easily accounted for by the large use of the aor. subj. in final sentences and in those temporal sentences in which antecedence is involved>. (4) Certain verbs occur prevalently in the imperfect, others prevalently in the aorist, only partially coincident with Homeric use. The love of the imperfect is somewhat more extensive, and decidedly more accentuated than that of the aorist. (5) When in narrative a result is evolved out of preceding actions

the imperfect of all verbs is preferred. This SCHLACHTER calls the 'Fazit-imperfect' <a revival or survival of Nägelsbach's 'nachhaltige Wirkung', which has come up again in Stahl's 'Imperfect of Propagation' (A. J. P. XXIX 394). 'Fazit', which means 'sum total', seems to be a peculiarly unlucky way of putting what might be called an 'outstanding account'>. (6) Herodotos' preference for 'cursive expression'—'cursive' answering to the old fashioned, unsatisfactory (A. J. P. XVI 144) 'durative'—does not come out alike in all the moods. Of the more rarely employed moods (subj., opt., imper.) it is strongest in the imperative. Of those that are much used (ind., inf., part.) it is most perceptible in the inf. (7) The morphological relations of the thematic aorist to the present seem to be the cause of their excess over the average number of the aorist infinitive. (8) The aorist participles (but not those of the thematic aorist) are more numerous than the corresponding indicatives, which is not true of the imperfect (durative) participle.

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In view of statistics like these and those presented by Professor Miller's article, A. J. P. XVI (1895) 139-185, it is to be hoped that such generalizations, as 'The Greek is an aorist-loving language', will disappear from our textbooks. But such generalizations die hard. 'Each author has a stylistic syntax of his own' (A. J. P. XXIII 6), and though SCHLACHTER has done good service by giving us exact figures, Herodotos' love for the imperfect is no revelation. Long ago Cobet accused Herodotos of abusing the imperfect *laori* (A. J. P. XXIII 250), and the dictum roused rebellion in one admirer of Herodotos, who took pains in his syntax to show how admirably Herodotos used his tenses (XXIII 452); but now comes Wackernagel, now comes Thumb, and the use of the subjunctive after the past tenses in Herodotos is attributed to some local Ionic influence and not to the advance of the sophistic spirit. The two passive futures are accounted for in the same way, and the difference between them—a favorite theme of late—is effaced (A. J. P. XXIX 391; see Meltzer, IGF. XXII, Anzeiger, S. 26).

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Mr. MOULTON's *Prolegomena to the Grammar of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark) has reached a third edition in a very short time. Such a success is unthinkable for a philological manual outside the special field of Biblical study. But it is a good sign for all that. Philology, once the handmaid of theology, first set up shop for itself under the firm name of Friedrich August Wolf & Co. It may have to go back to the old theological house from which it started. At all events every one will recognize the importance of the new lines of grammatical study that

have been opened by Mr. MOULTON's fuglemen. In 1893 I wrote, in 1902 I printed, my musings on what I then dared to call the decline of the Greek language (A. J. P. XXIII 258). "We say to ourselves 'Chaos and Old Night. There are no problems of Greek syntax possible. We are in the realm of Solecism'. But that is not true. Language remains organic. The laws of the death are the laws of the life. Deorganization is unravelling and the unweaving teaches us the weaving". Against expressions like these, scholars like Mr. MOULTON would rebel. There is no deorganization. There is nothing but growth. The New Greek Thesaurus is to take in all the Greek that can be proved from the earliest times to the latest, and we are not to look upon the modern language as we are apt to look upon the serviceable rugs that are made out of worn-out carpets. Every now and then Mr. MOULTON chides me for my false view of the relations that the older language bears to its lineal successor, but faithful are the wounds of a friend, and his attitude on the whole is amicable. But a commentary on Mr. MOULTON's *Prolegomena* would carry me back to the *malebolge* out of which I have just emerged and I will forbear. Of course, I am quite in sympathy with Mr. MOULTON's efforts to make his grammatical studies readable (A. J. P. XXIII 2), and I congratulate him on the pleasure he has derived from his success, in which I rejoice as much as he does. It is sheer delight for a dweller in the frigid zone of grammar to have such good company in the use of tropical language and to consort with a man who unblushingly writes of an unblushing aorist (p. 133). Indeed he is bolder than I am, for I sedulously avoid tropes and figures in my textbooks. But there is always a something, always a somebody, and some Snarley-yow of a British critic, whose habitat I cannot recall, discussing Mr. MOULTON of late, said in substance: 'It seems that the Grammar of the New Testament is yet to be written. Let us hope that when it is written, it will be written in English and not in Journalese'.

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An admirer and follower of the Germans, Mr. MOULTON has adopted many of the German technical terms. In his heart of hearts he prefers 'summary', but he submits to 'constative', and he is actually fond of 'ingressive' and 'punctiliar' (*punktuell*), both of which Stahl rejects (A. J. P. XXIX 398, 399). Unfortunately the Germans themselves are at odds about the nomenclature of the *Aktionsart*, the kind of time. The latest cry of anguish proceeds from that eminent scholar STREITBERG (IGF. XXII, Anzeiger, S. 72: *Die Benennung der Aktionsarten*), and I cannot help wishing that Mr. MOULTON, who has deigned to accept some of my things, had accepted my threefold remedy 'paratatic', 'apobatic' and 'syntelic' (A. J. P. XXIII 106), for with his help and the help of

Biblical scholars I might have relieved the situation. But though Mr. MOULTON is an admiring disciple of the Germans, he is insular enough to be interesting. So he devotes pages to Miss Purdie, he quotes Mr. Giles (p. 249) for something that was staring at him in Goodwin (M. T., R. E., p. 391), and he sets down the rediscovery of Gottfried Hermann's desist-formula for μή with pres. imper. to the credit of the late WALTER HEADLAM (p. 122) that πτηνὸν καὶ ἱερὸν χρῆμα, whose 'Greek verses' in the judgment of WILAMOWITZ, 'if they had been discovered in a Greek papyrus would immediately have been recognized as true Greek poetry' (SANDYS, *History of Classical Scholarship* III 485). But HEADLAM was a better poet than grammarian (A. J. P. XXVII 111), and we poor grammatical Ions—mere sacristans we—have to guard our sanctuary from these winged things even if they are swans. οὐκ ἄλλα φοινικοφαῖ πόδα κινήσεις; It will at all events be news to some of us oldsters that Hermann's formula needed rediscovering. And after all it is only half a truth; and in 1877 I gave in my Justin Martyr, Apol. I 15 what I still think to be the whole truth (S. C. G. 415), handed down doubtless by some of my German teachers. "μή with pres. imper. denotes a negative course of action, 'keep from' or the negative of a course of action, 'cease to'". 'Chi l'ha detto' is often a bootless inquiry (A. J. P. XXIII 5).

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There is much more behind that must await the coming of a number of the Journal not so overloaded with syntax as is this. The study of the 'Parademarsch' of language as Mauthner calls it (A. J. P. XXVIII 356) may be overdone and even a syntactician may prefer to leave procession and processionists for a while and play in the shade with the Amaryllis of etymology or with the tangles of Neaera's hair, which may be supposed to represent the intertwinements of semantics. As for the outsiders, the very men who would resent being classed with those who call 'divine philosophy' 'harsh and crabbed' never fail to have their fling not only at syntax but at all manner of grammatical study, which is after all a branch of that same divine philosophy. And the missiles are always at hand just as in Aristophanes 'stones' are normally 'the stones', the stones that lay loose in the streets of Athens. This being the case I am not surprised that a *frondeur* like Dr. OSLER can hardly forgive the hero of his latest biography *Thomas Linacre* for being a grammarian, even though Julius Caesar and Milton were grammarians.

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'Fed to inanition', says Dr. OSLER, 'on the dry husks of grammar and with bitter schoolboy memories of Farrar on the



Greek verb, I can never pick up a textbook on the subject without regret that the quickening spirit of Greece and Rome should have been for generations killed by the letter with which alone these works are concerned'. And then Dr. OSLER proceeds to quote Gomperz on Pindar's ignorance of technical grammar and to defile the grave of Protagoras who is supposed to have started the devilry, the same Protagoras, by the way, to whom the same Gomperz attributes a famous tract in the Hippocratean corpus (A. J. P. XI 529), the same Protagoras who was himself a manner of doctor (A. J. P., l. c.). Galen, if not a grammarian in the modern sense, was a grammarian in the antique sense, or he could not have been the critic that he was. And if there is to be a suit of Physician vs. Grammarian there is something to be said in favor of the grammarian. Plato's subtle irony cannot be understood without a knowledge of the language that only grammatical analysis can reproduce (A. J. P. XXI 471; XXX 4), and to one grammarian, at least, it seems droll that Dr. OSLER who embodies all the winning sides of his profession should have selected the Eryximachos of the Symposium as the best type of the physician of old, Eryximachos, the pedantic system-monger of *plenum* and *vacuum*, who was only on sufferance in that brilliant company and whom Plato holds up to ridicule as incorporating the worst foibles of the professor of the healing art.

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'Nowhere in literature', says Dr. OSLER in his *Counsels and Ideals* (p. 24), 'do we have such a charming picture illustrating the position of the cultivated physician in society as that given in Plato's Dialogues of Eryximachos, himself the son of a physician Acumenus. In that most brilliant age the physician was the companion and friend, and in intellectual intercourse the peer of the choicest spirits' <as he is today>. Now the position of the physician in Greek society is not a matter to be discussed in *Brief Mention*. But to my mind Eryximachos himself has never been the most attractive figure in the group of banqueters. The tipsy mockery of Alkibiades peeps out from under the cover of the conventional quotation *ἡτρώς ἀνὴρ*, and if Eryximachos is allowed to take up his parable, it is because Plato wished to let his humour play on the weak sides of the profession as he has done elsewhere. In my analysis of the speeches in the Symposium printed many years ago in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, January, 1887, I paid my respects to Eryximachos. 'Eryximachos', I concluded, 'shows at once the dishonesty of the sophist and the dogmatism of his profession in trying to make good his pedantic correction of his predecessors and by his fine phrases works himself up to the belief in his own triumphant cleverness'. Charming figures there are among the Greek doctors from Cheiron down, but the son of Akumenos is not the peer of the son of Philippos, who follows him; and 'the

healthy humanity of Aristophanes swallows up in the broad *riktus* of the comic mask the sytem-mongery of Eryximachos'. In CESAREO'S *I due simposi* (A. J. P. XXIII 446 foll.) there is an interesting study of Eryximachos (p. 114), but unfortunately for my thesis, one of the commentators on the Symposium, whom he cites, identifies Eryximachos with Plato himself, as monstrous a theory in my eyes, as if Shakespeare had been supposed to identify himself with Malvolio. But the mention of the Symposium leads naturally to the next *Brief Mention*, as will be seen.

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The ordinary mortal's views of love are not to be reduced to a system. Life is a jumble of sacred and profane love. The love that moves the stars is sometimes nearer to us in our hot youth than in what is supposed to be serene old age, when the love that is rekindled often recalls the shameless greybeards of the Casina, and justifies the saying of the poet of love: *Turpe senilis amor*. Theory is sadly upset by practice, but there is no escaping theory for all that, and the student of the Platonic Symposium will read and reread IVO BRUNS'S illuminating essay on *Attische Liebestheorien* in his *Vorträge u. Aufsätze* in which he sets forth the difference between the discourse of Sokrates in the Phaedrus and the speech of Sokrates in the Symposium. The advance is not the dramatic advance of Sokrates. It is the advance of Plato himself. First Phaedrus, then Symposium. Usener, it will be remembered, has made an eloquent plea for the old tradition of the youthful composition of the Phaedrus. But what if the order is reversed? And there are those who would reverse it. Impressionism is not to be trusted in matters of style. Old age may be jaunty and youth languid. The sober and measured pace of the young writer may change into the titubant jig of the old hack. I have been taught by experience profound distrust of all internal evidence, that is not, so to speak, historical. As a writer for the daily press I have had article after article of mine ascribed to the wrong man on the basis of an inimitable style. That is the reason why I have lent an ear to prosaic statisticians; and prosaic statisticians have shown that stylometric tests assign the Phaedrus to the later stage of Plato's authorship; and this result coincides with the contention of M. ROBIN in his *Théorie Platonicienne de l'Amour* (Paris, Félix Alcan). The theory of love, he declares, has too often been considered as an episode or an accessory of Platonic philosophy, and the object of his book is to show that it is most closely connected with that philosophy, and that it occupies a very important position in the Platonic system. In order to prove this, the author has studied in detail the delicate and complex problem of the comparative chronology of the Lysis, the Symposium, the Phaedo and the Phaedrus, and has been led to the conclusion that the Phaedrus is one of the

latest dialogues of Plato and contains the most elaborate exposition of the theory of love in its relation to the theory of ideas and the theory of the soul, and so serves to determine the nature and the function of Platonic love. M. ROBIN goes to work in the way recommended and exemplified by Bonitz, and more recently by Horn (A. J. P. XV 92), and his book begins with an analysis, which amounts often to a translation of the parts of the *Lysis*, the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* in which Plato has developed his theory of love. I have followed very closely M. ROBIN's own summary of his book, which cannot be discussed here. 'The *Phaedrus*', says Professor SHOREY, in his *Unity of Plato's Thought* (p. 71), 'with its profusion of ideas, its rich technical and poetical vocabulary and its singular coincidences with the *Laws* and *Timaeus*, makes the impression of a mature work', and this impression M. ROBIN has undertaken to turn into conviction.

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Shall we say 'gegenstandlos' (A. J. P. XXIX 499) or 'gegenstandslos'? I took the part of the analogists, and a proof-reader, to whom I owe much, took the part of the anomalists; and the discussion carried me back to my boyhood, when the quarrel about 'sigmatism' in German compounds was rife. But I am just now more interested in the meaning than in the form of the word, for I am ruefully contemplating a new doctoral dissertation in which a pupil of Professor CAPPS has attacked the old doctrine of the three actors, KELLEY REES, *The So-called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama* (Chicago University Press). Another of the many skiffs in which I intended to put out to sea has rotted in harbour like Winans' famous cigar-ship, and I have given another illustration of the danger of following the Horatian precept too closely. Not long before his lamented death in 1881, SIDNEY LANIER got up a course of lectures on Shakespeare in which I was to take part. The themes of my discourses were *Timon of Athens* and *Macbeth*. The *Macbeth* lecture was a comparison of the Agamemnon of Aischylos and the *Macbeth* of Shakespeare from the point of view of dramatic structure. It so happened that at the same time the same theme was engaging the attention of Professor RICHARD G. MOULTON on the other side of the water. The two studies were entirely independent of each other. MOULTON's work, as it appeared subsequently in his *Ancient Classical Drama* (1889, pp. 225 foll.), was constructive, mine destructive. My plan was to apply the limitations of the antique stage, as then understood, to the play of *Macbeth* and to show how the life of the piece would be killed by the conditions that obtained at the time of the Agamemnon. Needless to say, as a giant-queller I was a success. The play was as dead as the hero. The moral was 'The artistic justification of the chorus as the life-breath of a Greek play'. The narrow platform of the Greek stage, the law of the three actors, played havoc with *Macbeth*. But since those far-off days

the Aeschylean stage has become a circus, and now that 'the rule of three' has been relegated to the limbo of false traditions, my little essay is not worth rewriting. "Ganz gegenstandslos oder 'wenn das hübscher lautet' ganz gegenstandslos geworden".

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SCHROEDER's Teubner edition of Pindar might well call forth various comment, but just now I will limit myself to one remark, which is a confession. In the recently discovered fragments which he has incorporated in his volume he has retained the reading [Πίνδο]ν ἀν' εὐδομον (A. J. P. XXIX 121). This is a painful reminder of a sad inadvertence of my own. Instead of [κρίσα]ν which I proposed for the passage I should have written [κίρρα]ν. Kriśa and Kirrha are poetically, if not topographically one, and κρίσα is the Homeric, not the Pindaric quantity. Still the position in the verse may have something to do with the quantity. Not to mention the well-worn \*Apeś, \*Apeś, I might cite the shift of the quantity of χρύσεος in Pindar himself, but a frank acknowledgment of what others might fairly call by a harsher name than that of inadvertence is the best course. I have known worse sins to take shelter behind the printer's devil.

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The project of a new Greek Thesaurus to which allusion was made above (p. 107) is discussed in a long, important and interesting article of the *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik* by the eminent authority on Mediaeval and Modern Greek Philology, KARL KRUMBACHER. The international undertaking set on foot by the late Sir Richard Jebb has fallen through, and the Greek government has engaged in the work as a purely national enterprise. *The Historical Lexicon of the Greek Language from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* is to be an abiding monument of the immortality and unity of the Greek people: and the centennial of the Greek War of Liberation is to be celebrated by the publication of the first part March 25, 1921. The commission in charge is headed by Kontos, Hatzidakis and Menardos, names which inspire respect and confidence, and with the advance of philological studies in Greece there will be native helpers enough to make the work a national achievement in every sense. Unfortunately, the financial basis seems to be quite inadequate for a gigantic enterprise that is to take in two millennia and a half. The scheme of the British Academy drew the line at 600 A. D. The Greek scheme, which comes down to the present day, involves difficulties that increase, as KRUMBACHER says, in geometrical progression, the farther the philological pioneers advance from the classical time. There is no space in this number of the Journal for a summary of KRUMBACHER's illuminating essay on the conditions of the vast enterprise. There is only room to express a hearty sympathy with him in his joy at the



great undertaking and his wish for a happy progress of the work, the consummation of which so many of those who love Greece and things Greek cannot hope to see.

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G. L. H.: A year ago the *Nomina Sacra* of LUDWIG TRAUBE, which has called forth so much discussion, appeared posthumously as a volume of *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, a series due to his initiative (A. J. P. XXVIII 241). In this volume which had the advantage of a final revision from the author, the promise was held out by the editor that other material, almost ready for publication, would be forthcoming. This promise is fulfilled by the appearance of a large octavo volume *Zur Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde* (München, 1909. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Oskar Beck) edited by PAUL LEHMANN, the first of five volumes of *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, to be published under the general editorship of FRANZ BOLL. This introductory volume begins with a biographical sketch of TRAUBE by BOLL; then follows a twelve page bibliography of his published work, and an equal number of pages devoted to a list of his manuscript remains, both due to LEHMANN. The mere titles of the second bibliography denote the breadth of interest, and wealth of detail found in the published work of TRAUBE, that mark him as the most profound student of medieval Latin literature in the last century; and the four contributions to paleography and history of manuscripts, given in this volume do not belie one's anticipations. The first (1-80) is the most complete record extant of the progress of the science of paleography down to the present day; the second (81-127) is devoted to the outer history of the *book* before the age of printing. It gives an account of the great collections of manuscripts of the past, and of the libraries in which they are preserved to-day; a sketch of libraries, ancient, medieval and modern; with an account of investigations in search of manuscripts "voyages littéraires", and of catalogues of manuscripts of former and extant collections. These two studies of TRAUBE, to which the editor only needed to add certain bibliographical indications, is an invaluable guide to these several related subjects, which have never before been brought under one head. The third study is a paper upon the principles and history of abbreviations, an introduction to *Nomina Sacra*, delivered before the Munich Academy in 1899, and the last hundred pages (157-263), a descriptive catalogue of the Latin manuscripts written in capitals and uncials, is by far the fullest treatment of the subject, has been compiled by LEHMANN, with the aid of TRAUBE's material, and upon the lines laid down by him. With such a beginning, one can only urge on the early completion of such a valuable work as this series of volumes is sure to be.



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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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